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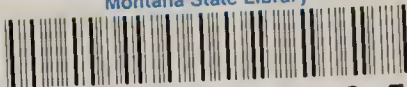
REPORT OF FINDINGS AFDC POPULATION STUDY

Patrick B. Edgar, DPA
Northwest Community Consultants Inc.

Northwest Community Consultants Incorporated is a Montana-owned firm that provides a variety of services for the public sector throughout the northwest United States. The primary services offered include policy analysis, consensus building in state and local governments, and public management consulting. The principle owner, Dr. Patrick Edgar has had many years experience in the public sector and a Doctor of Public Administration degree from the University of Southern California. The other members of the organization are George Gupton, who also has extensive experience in the public sector and a Master of Public Administration degree and Mark Newby, a Montana businessman who runs the business affairs of the firm. Other employees are drawn from an extensive talent pool as needed for each project. Materials in this report are covered by U. S. copyright laws and may be used with the permission of the author.

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Executive Summary

This study has been directed at painting a clearer picture of the population in the state of Montana that are receiving or have received assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. Northwest Community Consultants (NCC), under contract with the Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS), has conducted a combination telephone and mail-out survey of this population. This was supplemented with further research through the TEAMS data base, examination of similar studies in other states, and national data.

A total of 538 current and former AFDC recipients were interviewed over the telephone during the period of November 8-11, 1993. The interviews involved a series of forced-choice, Likert, and open-ended questions. The telephone interviews were supplemented with 198 mailed out questionnaires. To date, 62 responses have been received or nearly 31 percent, when the 17 incorrect addresses (no longer at the address, etc.) are eliminated. Thus, 600 responses are included in this study. This sample yields a ± 4 percentage confidence interval. The results of the survey present a picture of the AFDC population that offer insights into their condition and generally, their attitudes.

The respondents that indicated they were no longer receiving assistance, reported that the most important reason for them to leave the program is that they simply got tired of being on the program. This is rather important in considering policy. Recipients do not like being on the program. They also indicated that they were able to get off the program because they got a job with skills they already possessed. The barriers to getting off the program that the former recipients described varied but were mainly related to having the resources to provide for all the needs of caring for children from

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education to child care. Their open-ended responses reveal that the main need is for jobs that pay well enough.

The entire sample was asked the remaining questions in the interview. The respondents indicated that they had been on the program an average of 1.8 times. Thus, the concerns that people tended to go on and off the program are not borne out by the survey. When asked whether or not it is difficult to get off the program, the majority said that it was and that the lack of job opportunities and well-paying jobs were the primary reasons. Thus, the respondents are interested in working but need to make enough to provide for their families. The sample also reported that the first time they received benefits for their children was during their early adult years. This is one of the more important findings in this study. In the case of the state of Montana, the concern that the driving force behind the increase in AFDC clientele is the number of teen pregnancies does not appear to be true. The evidence suggests that the teen mothers are probably staying with their families and not entering the AFDC system at that time. The larger problem is the number of single parent households created by a high divorce and/or abandonment rate along with a very high number of parents that were never married. Further, the respondents indicated that only 13 percent of them were second generation recipients.

When asked to describe life without AFDC the sample described a situation where they would have to turn to family or friends for help and seek a second job. While this indicates that they do have constructive values, there should be some concern

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for the children of these parents. If they were to take on additional work one has to wonder who would be taking care of the children. There is plenty of evidence that the prevalence of "latchkey kids" is already posing serious problems. Generally, this population is more likely to seek socially constructive alternatives than those that may be considered socially destructive.

The respondents have considerable appreciation for those that work in the welfare offices. They generally, rated the performance of these individuals with respect to service and courtesy rather well averaging around a 2.75 GPA. However, they rated the offices rather poorly regarding how well they tried to move them toward self sufficiency, giving them only a 1.8 GPA. They felt that they were not really given much in the way of options to improve their own situation. When asked to specifically focus on job training programs in general, the respondents gave them a rather luke warm assessment with the exception of GED courses and Self Esteem courses. Only 21.5 percent of those that had been enrolled in job training programs stated that the program helped them to get a job. These results would indicate that much work needs to be done yet in the program before making them a requirement for all recipients.

Nearly 24 percent of the respondents were currently in school which should be expected. The respondents did describe some difficulties in staying in school and being on the program. Specifically, the need for some considerations that will reward successful pursuit of education were indicated. The level of education reported by the respondents supports the call for improvements for those pursuing education. This

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population has a significantly higher than normal non-completion rate for high school and college. The respondents also state that what they need more than anything is formal training in either a vocational-technical school or college. Thus, this population is interested in self improvement which is consistent with their value system described above.

The sample was asked about their decision to apply for benefits and the motivational factors that entered into that decision. First, they stated that they tried many of the traditional options of full time and part time employment and family assistance prior to applying. However, two-thirds of the respondents indicated that they had not sought assistance from the other parent. This brings out a very serious issue regarding the value of holding both parents responsible for children. This is an issue that should be addressed in a rather vigorous fashion since the failure to uphold the value of equal responsibility bodes very poorly for the future. The motivational levels of the respondents was measured in terms of what prompted them to apply and how that would fit with the motivation of anyone. The overall result indicated a slightly lower than average motivation level but a positively-rooted one nonetheless. All in all, the population is one that is much like the rest of us. The prevalence of single-parent households is the driving force behind increased recipients. Finally, the respondents were asked to describe what their lives would be without AFDC and offer suggestions for the improvement of the program. The descriptions of life without the program were generally that it would be a challenge and that they were mostly uncertain as to what

they would have done. Many indicated that they would manage somehow, showing that they still believed in themselves to some extent. The suggested improvements were mostly related to allowing them some kind of transition to the world of work. In other words, the respondents asked that they not be so immediately sanctioned for getting a job. They offered suggestions that centered on including a process that could formulate decreasing levels of assistance in various forms over a period of time. Generally, they want an opportunity to "get on their feet" prior to being cut off.

The study indicates that there is plenty of room for reform but, even more importantly, much to build upon. The typical Montana recipient holds the values that one finds in the general population. They would rather work than not work. They recognize that they need to improve their skills in order to survive. The challenge for policy makers now is to formulate a program that will draw upon these values and not deprive the children of positive family experiences.

Part II of this report focuses on further definition of the situation of the AFDC population by examining the general conditions for recipients in the state of Montana. A brief review of the history of AFDC in the nation and in the state demonstrates that the program has been the fastest growing of all public assistance programs. It has also been the most controversial because of the growing numbers and because the population has not been viewed as particularly deserving from time to time. Poverty in the state of Montana in general is cited as the primary predictor of participation in the AFDC program. The condition of poverty in the state is increasing and the factors that

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contribute to its expansion such as shifts in employment, are persistent. This suggests that the underlying problem of poverty will continue in the future and must be a consideration for policy reform efforts.

Issues that need to be addressed in order to develop any meaningful reforms of the AFDC program are many. Education is a crucial area of need in any efforts to improve the AFDC clients' situation. The issues related to education include which efforts may stimulate an active response by the clients and whether or not it is reasonable to grant any kind of privilege regarding education to this population. Generally, the conclusion is that education can be made more meaningful if the recipients are shown that it is through such measures that their lives will be improved. It is also suggested that education provided for any segment of the population benefits the entire society.

The issues of child care and health care bring with them the questions of quality of life and empowering individuals to be a part of the work force. The demand of child care is increasing in the entire population and the costs surrounding this service are sometimes hidden. The question of whether or not institutionalized child care brings with it undesired outcomes in the long run is one that should be addressed in any future efforts. Further, the means through which child care is provided should be assessed, perhaps being directed more at cooperative efforts. The health care challenge is one that is particularly problematic for this population. The reality is that the group most vulnerable to the harmful consequences of health care costs is the population that lies

just above the poverty level. Thus, the movement of this population into self-sufficiency necessarily moves them right into the area of greatest danger unless accommodations are made. The most reasonable solution rests in comprehensive health care reform.

The discussion around employment programs for the AFDC population emphasizes the need for placement into decent-paying jobs. This need is typically underestimated in reform efforts. The acquisition of a job is not a solution in itself. In many of the cases, accepting a low-paying job only worsens the condition of the recipient rather than improves it. The problems rest in the fact that most entry level jobs are minimum wage with no benefits. If the individual must incur the costs of survival, including child care, health care, and the additional expenses of working outside the home, the net amount of benefit is far less than if they remain on the program. The types of jobs needed are those that pay well above minimum wage. The other factor that comes into play is the need to elevate the self esteem of these individuals prior to and even after they enter or re-enter the work force. Unless these self esteem issues are addressed it is unlikely that they will be particularly effective employees or that they will allow themselves personal growth.

Finally, the more institutional issues are discussed. The need to "de-bureaucratize" is much more complex and more urgent than perhaps has been acknowledged to date. The myths surrounding bureaucracy need to be dispelled and the truth must be the basis of any reforms. Bureaucracy is an organizational form that evolved fully during the Industrial era. It requires rule enforcement and standard

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operating procedures in order to function. Bureaucracy's most important purposes are to displace human weaknesses with rationality and to preserve itself and not the accomplishment of outcomes. Thus, any efforts that have as a goal to move clients toward self-sufficiency (which is an outcome) will have to be accomplished within a non-bureaucratic environment. This will require the acceptance of risk-taking and the potential for error. Privatizing is not necessarily the answer unless the same willingness to allow risk-taking and entrepreneurial activities is exhibited. In order to overcome the immense problem of dependency in the AFDC population, the leadership must be willing to sacrifice some control over the process.

Recommendations are offered to improve the discussions of reform, especially as they relate to implementation. These recommendations are from the perspective of movement toward policy success -- assuming the policy centers on moving individuals from public assistance to self sufficiency.

Recommendation 1: move toward a case management model rather than a rule enforcement approach.

- a. Each case manager must be responsible for the client's entire range of benefits.
- b. Case managers must be evaluated and therefore rewarded or sanctioned based on movement of individuals from dependency to self sufficiency.
- c. The case manager and the client must enter into a contract where the expectations of both parties are clearly defined - including means for

making adjustments should anything outside of the control of either party occur, and specified sanctions and rewards for particular outcomes.

d. A weighting scale needs to be developed so that case managers are given greater credit for helping those most in need. This will go far to prevent "creaming".

Recommendation 2: shift the administration of the program from one based on the bureaucratic model to one based on public entrepreneurship.

a. Allow regions and HRDCs to submit proposals regarding goals for their region and means for accomplishing their goals. Proposals are evaluated by a task force of public employees and citizens and a contract is awarded to the organization with the best proposal. (This will allow the public organizations to compete.)

b. Based on the targets set by the successful bidder, require the state offices to engage in **contract monitoring only** not rule or procedure enforcement.

c. Allow regions to use funds remaining at the end of the year as they see fit within the limits of the law.

d. Include any innovative schemes for provision of services as means to accomplish the goal of self sufficiency. (e.g., co-production may include a strategy where clients in a given region forming a child care cooperative.)

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Recommendation 3: Develop a more comprehensive job training program that integrates schools, vo-techs, community colleges, and the University System, as well as employers.

- a. Each entity will develop standards of satisfactory progress that will tie success to meaningful outcomes.
- b. Institutions will develop linkage programs so that clients are being trained for specific job opportunities identified by employers.
- c. Case managers will be able to include financial aid in their data base.

Recommendation 4: Focus efforts on the reduction of poverty in the state of Montana.

- a. Integrate efforts with economic development strategies so that decent paying jobs are being developed.
- b. Encourage participation by local institutions in welfare reform so that the need to develop sustainable jobs is clearly understood.
- c. Emphasis should be placed on drawing from the creative resources of the members of the community, including the clients on AFDC.

The most important step that can be taken in welfare reform is to honestly pursue self-sufficiency as a final outcome. If we truly want to reduce not just the costs in terms of the budget, but in terms of the people, we must embark on programs that bring the best out in people. To continue a system that punishes productive behavior on the part of the clients, the public employee, and the educators will only make the problem worse.

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To believe that we can just sweep the problem under the rug by simply insisting that people fend for themselves without giving them the means to do so will only serve to increase failure. Compassion and public policy are not at odds with one another if we all focus our efforts on success.

Introduction

The U. S. Congress and state legislatures across the country are attempting to address the issue of welfare reform. This has come about largely because the Clinton Administration has made it one of its priority areas. The general concerns are either that the system is "out of control" or that it is creating a vicious cycle of dependency for the clients. By "out of control" most critics mean that the budgets for these areas continue to grow and there seems to be no way out. Some other critics describe "out of control" as it relates to how the system fails to address the needs of the clients because the policies and procedures have gotten so complex. Thus, arguments from the left and the right support the idea that the system has somehow eluded control. As would be expected, there is a bit of truth in each argument. The budgets are rather persistent but they are not a major part of the budget deficits we have been experiencing. The programs do create a certain amount of dependency but not without some cooperation from the clientele. As far as the vicious cycle is concerned there is some evidence that dependency on public assistance can become habit-forming. However, this is not due to some character flaw but may be more of a result of accepting a set of values that bases happiness or success on the "bottom line". In other words, public assistance clients, as with the general public, premise their decisions on selecting courses of action that net them the greater amount of money.

One of the more visible programs in the area of welfare is the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC). This program has grabbed much more of the limelight than had been anticipated when it was first created. The number of individuals that are receiving benefits has grown rather dramatically. In Montana alone

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for example, the number of recipients has doubled since 1978. The program was begun as a reasonable means to help widows with children since there were few avenues for their relief. It was not difficult to convince the American public that this group was worthy of assistance. Few would challenge the notion of the need to support children. However, no one anticipated the extraordinary rise in the divorce rate or the rise in unmarried mothers that have combined to place a strain on the AFDC program but even more importantly, they have diminished the "worthiness" of the clientele in the eyes of many taxpayers. To care for widows is seen as a basic value but to care for unwed mothers is quite another matter.

Another contributor to the problem is the recent experience of growing poverty in the United States. In the last fifteen years the number of people that fall below the poverty level has steadily increased. This is particularly problematic in Montana since the prevailing shift in the economy is to lower paying job opportunities such as tourism and retail. This extension of poverty is especially felt in young families. What is particularly problematic is not so much that the group that is considered poor is growing but that it comes after a period of time that was characterized by rather steady gains economically. Therefore, the people that are now considered poor may very well have come from middle class families. Historically, the poor generally came from poor families. This tended to provide them with coping skills and incentive to persevere during difficult times. If the "new poor" come from middle class families they are less likely to have such coping skills. It is fairly common knowledge that this is the first

generation in memory that is going to be worse off than its predecessor, so there is some evidence that such generational shift is not uncommon.

The combination of problems of greater divorce rates, increasing numbers of unmarried parents, and increasing poverty may all be interrelated. There are many contending theories as to what is at the root of these challenges. The explanations range from losses of values to movement to a post-industrial society to diminishing resources and every conceivable combination of all three. The point of this report is not so much to identify any base causal relationship but to establish some patterns from which one may draw policy analysis conclusions. The best way to accomplish this is to use several of the explanations to identify consistent factors and then to chart out reasonable responses to those consistencies. To craft policy any other way is inadvisable. This report will draw upon the conclusions of a study of the AFDC population in the state of Montana and other studies carried out across the country as well as some of the important literature in public administration. The study offers an opportunity to examine the recipients in a descriptive, normative, and assumptive sense. It is descriptive in that some demographic as well as behavioral characteristics are described. It is normative in that the participants in the study offer some insights regarding their values and how they feel things ought to be. It is assumptive in that the combination of understanding the characteristics of the population and their stated values allows one to make fairly safe assumptions of their motivations (Bailey, 1968). The last category is perhaps the one of highest risk as far as accuracy is concerned. However, a great deal of the data has been

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gathered to accomplish this task more than the others. The reason for this priority is that policy may best be constructed based on the expectations of the clientele. If one can correctly identify what "makes them tick" then policy can be designed to appeal to their priorities.

The report then goes on to offer some policy analysis and insights into the current system. This moves the study from one which is sociological to one more concerned with public administration. Having established some understandings of the clientele, it is necessary to focus more on the larger picture. In this case, the general condition of poverty in Montana is examined to place the challenges being faced by AFDC recipients into a context. AFDC administrators were also interviewed to gain some insights into the problem of managing for success. The data collection in this case is much less exhaustive than on the clients, understanding that the recipients are the center of the solutions. However, there is some need to examine the view from the administrator. Once this is completed, a brief discussion of the apparent obstacles to success is offered.

The final section presents a set of recommendations for decision-makers. These recommendations are presented as steps associated with certain values (e.g., the pursuit of efficiency as an end-point). The analyst does not presume to offer recommendations in the form of final policy. Rather, the analysis must present the options to those that have the responsibility to determine which values state government wishes to satisfy. The report concludes with a set of recommendations for policy reform and even more importantly, implementation strategies. These implementation strategies combine the

knowledge acquired from this study with that known in the field of public administration. Reforms fail for one of two prevailing reasons - either the assumptions about the problem are incorrect or the means chosen to carry out the changes are inappropriate. In this case, it is imperative to make changes based on accurate assessment of the AFDC population. The first part of the report provides the needed insights. It is equally important to be certain that the administrative means are available to increase the probability of a successful outcome. The final part of the report suggests some means based on the research and the expertise of the author.

This report has been designed to incorporate the survey data with known practices of public administration and social work in order to offer the most appropriate recommendations for reforms that will improve the recipients' likelihood of success. If the AFDC recipients meet with success, that is, they reach a point of self-sufficiency, the state benefits because the flow of tax dollars to clients is not only reduced but reversed since the former recipients become tax-paying citizens. The social value system also benefits if recipients achieve self-sufficiency. Such success promotes the values of: (1) taking responsibility for ones own behavior, (2) believing in the possibility of overcoming obstacles, and (3) contributing to our neighbors' well-being. There is plenty of evidence that these values have come under some strain in recent times. Thus, any effort that can reverse such a trend can only be viewed as worthwhile. Armed with some knowledge of the clientele, it is more likely that policy reforms will be effective. Understanding the obstacles from the point of view of the client and the administrator provides the insight

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needed to develop implementation strategies that will work. Finally, the objective of this report is not to state whether or not reforms will work but to contribute the information needed to greatly enhance their probability of success. The objective is to add to the quality of the dialogue of welfare reform not to stake out any moral high ground or to criticize any current efforts.

Part I: The Montana AFDC Study

Background. Due to questions concerning Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the Montana Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services contracted with Northwest Community Consultants Inc. (NCC) on October 1, 1993 to conduct a statewide study and provide analysis based on information collected. The goal of this study is to gather accurate data on the characteristics of the population. From this data base, along with other information that may be available, a policy analysis of the program in Montana is developed. The stated goal of such analysis is to measure the effectiveness of the AFDC program in terms of meeting the needs of the clients, the interests of the state, and the overall impact on social values. This effectiveness was defined in the Request for Proposals as moving clients toward self sufficiency.

In carrying out the research and analysis, NCC took the following steps. First, NCC conducted an informal survey of 20 randomly selected recipients and former recipients. These interviews were largely open-ended in nature to gather as much information from the clients' perspective as possible which was used to test a formal survey instrument. NCC then worked with the AFDC Task Force to construct the formal survey instrument. All the norms of social science were honored to be confident that the instrument gathered valid information.

Following the development of the instrument, NCC conducted a telephone survey of 538 randomly selected recipients and former recipients, supplemented by a mail-out survey of those without telephones. The survey instrument was mailed to 198 individuals

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that had no telephone number listed. Following the data collection process, NCC compiled and analyzed the data, augmented by other existing data to develop a draft report. In addition to analysis based on the literature and the statistical tests, eligibility workers, directors, and other service providers were also interviewed. This process was added to help explain some of the results of the survey of the clients. Finally, The Economic Assistance Management System (TEAMS) data base was consulted to assess a variety of demographic characteristics of the population, including length of time on the program and family structure.

The first section of Part I offers a description of the methodology chosen, followed by an analysis of methodological outcomes. The analysis simply explains what was found in the process of data collection and where unexpected changes in the process took place. The second section reports the findings of the survey. This report of findings goes well beyond the presentation of frequency distributions (actual number answering a certain way) but offers some explanation and clarification of these numbers. Part II then presents some further analysis of the findings of the population study by incorporating the survey results with the other demographic data from TEAMS and research of the literature, which includes the experience of other states and census data. Part II collects analysis under various themes (e.g., educational needs of recipients). These themes offer some insights to the challenges of welfare reform and focus attention on the condition of the population in question.

Methodology

The first phase of the project centered on an analysis of existing information. Some of the desired information was obtained through TEAMS. This is especially the case with respect to overall demographic data, average length of time receiving benefits, and other programs used. After this information was reviewed, NCC worked with Department staff to determine what other qualitative information was relevant. Based on these discussions, NCC developed a data collection questionnaire. The second step was to interview twenty (20) current and former recipients selected at random to test a proposed collection instrument or questionnaire. These interviews were largely open-ended and sought reactions from the respondents that would suggest modifications to the questionnaire.

Having gathered the information and tested the instrument, NCC embarked on the data collection process. The questionnaire itself was designed with a combination of forced-choice, Likert scale, and open-ended questions. This combination is essential for both the clarity and the validity of the survey instrument. Forced choice questions are ordinarily used to either introduce a topic, offer quantitative measures of demography or conditions, or clear statements of preference. The Likert scales are the most effective methods available for measuring more complex sentiments or to establish some sense of where the population's normative (values) positions lie. The open-ended questions provide the best opportunity for clarification of the other responses and provide an opportunity to express anything that they considered important. The method of

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conducting the survey used by NCC was a Random Telephone Survey. The use of random selection was viewed as the most appropriate manner for choosing respondents. If drawn properly, all of the sub-populations are represented, including urban/rural distribution and traditionally underrepresented groups. Evaluation of the respondents' demographics, including location, age, and ethnic category, indicate that the random selection was successful in this regard. The specific distribution is discussed in the beginning of the section on results that follows this presentation on methodology.

The selection process involved a random choice of telephone numbers from the universe of population members identified by the TEAMS data group as recipients or former recipients of AFDC. The questionnaire was entered into the computer at the Metropolitan Analysis and Retrieval Systems Inc. (MARS) facility in Missoula. Interviewers were hired from MARS to carry out the data collection. Since these individuals have received eight weeks of training in telephone data collection through the MARS organization, a minimal amount of training was necessary.

The data collection took place on the evenings of November 8 - 11, 1993. Operators were provided with a listing of numbers that included the name and date of birth of the individual to be contacted. When contact was made with a respondent, the responses were entered directly into the data base through an input screen that displayed the interview schedule (questionnaire). Operators were instructed to ask the questions as written and to probe only when the respondents were uncertain of the meaning of the question. The interviews each took an average of 16.85 minutes to complete. This was

somewhat longer than the pilot test indicated. Such an outcome is important since it indicates that respondents were generally willing to talk. Based on a visual review of open-ended responses, this may be attributed to their feeling that their point of view has not been sought as much as they would have liked in the past.

Once the information was gathered by the interviewers, all identifying information, including name, case number, and date of birth was separated from responses. This procedure was included to preserve confidentiality. From the outset of the project, NCC has stated its commitment to protect the confidentiality of the responses. All respondents were assured of the protection of confidentiality and that commitment has been honored.

The desired number of responses in this case was 600. This provides a confidence interval of ± 4 percent at the 95 percent confidence level. In other words, if 75 percent of the respondents indicated a certain answer, there is a 95 percent probability that the actual number of people within that population that agree with the answer is somewhere between 71 and 79 percent. In order to achieve a higher confidence interval (± 3 percent), it would have been necessary to interview 1,067 respondents. This would have been unmanageable within the budget made available. The confidence interval selected is reasonable for a population sector that is fairly homogenous as far as demographics are concerned. The population being interviewed was poor and had dependent children thus there is every reason to believe that the actual results represent an even higher level of confidence.

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In order to successfully complete the 538 telephone survey interviews, NCC drew 1,438 phone numbers. This number is unusually high for the needed level of successful contacts. However, estimates indicate that the number of disconnected and changed numbers were nearly 35 percent. This is much higher than the normal expectation of approximately 18 percent (Frey, 1983).¹ This would support the claim that this population is highly mobile or that telephones are not as basic a need for those that are on assistance as they are with the remainder of the population.

On the other hand, since the refusal rate was only 4.2 percent, the concern for the sensitivity of the respondents was not found to be a factor. Generally, telephone surveys anticipate as high as a 25 percent refusal rate (Backstrom and Hursch-Cesar, 1981). Thus, the lower than expected 39 percent successful contact rate is directly attributable to the high number of disconnected telephones rather than high refusal, an indicator of the financial position of the population being analyzed.

The TEAMS data reported that out of 19,950 cases, 5,997 had no telephone numbers (30.06%). Since 30 percent of the clients did not report telephone numbers, it is safe to conclude that this population differs from the general population dramatically since current census data indicate that 96 percent of the population have telephones (U.

¹ Original estimates were based on a median non-contact rate of 24 percent and a minimum combined non-contact and refusal rate of 44 percent, indicating a minimum 242 additional phone numbers to the base of 550 for a completed survey. Additionally, a buffer amount was recommended to compensate for the following variables: the high mobility rate of the population; the possibility of wrong and/or disconnected numbers; and, a population that may be sensitive to answering questions about their experience with social services. Northwest Community Consultants estimated each factor at approximately 12 percent of the total, or 66 calls each. Therefore, the target number of 550 successful calls should have been recorded from a list of 858 potential respondents. This figure indicates a completion rate of 56 percent, allowing for non-contact, refusal rates, and variables characteristic of the population.

S. Census Bureau, 1991). While it is likely that many clients may be unwilling to provide telephone numbers to the department, this would not explain the very high percentage difference. Since the population without telephones turned out to be so unexpectedly high, a modification of the initial strategy was chosen. At the request of NCC, 200 addresses of recipients and former recipients without telephones were drawn in order to mail questionnaires to those individuals. This option was selected because there was no reasonable way to make contact with the needed number of those without telephones. To attempt a personal interview of these individuals would more than likely result in a biased sample in favor of urban areas or those locations closer to the interviewers' communities. In order to increase the response rate of the mail-out instrument, \$2.00 in cash was enclosed with the questionnaire. The response rate in this case was 31.6 percent. While this is lower than hoped it is within acceptable limits. There are no discernable explanations for this lower than expected response rate.

Results

— This section describes the general results of the survey. Analysis of the numbers themselves is provided in some detail. It is the responsibility of the researcher to offer some insights or explanations of the data. Numbers do not speak for themselves due to variations stemming from phrasing of the questions, combinations of variables, and other methodological considerations. These findings are presented in the order of the questionnaire itself.

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A copy of the interview questionnaire is attached as Appendix A. After a description of the results of each question is offered, an initial analysis of the findings relative to policy is offered. Actual frequency of responses is attached as Appendix B. The list of open-ended responses is attached as Appendix C. Analysis of the findings and recommendations specific to the overall AFDC program and associated values are left to later sections of this report.

Those that responded to the survey are found to be a representative sample of the overall population on AFDC. More specifically, some interest was shown in the beginning of the project (as described in the Request for Proposals), to be certain that specific populations were contacted. First, there was some concern that a reasonable balance between urban and rural populations be included. Based on the definitions used by the U. S. Census Bureau the only locations considered urban in the state of Montana are Billings and Great Falls. However, since Missoula only missed the cutoff of 50,000 people by a very small margin, it was also included as urban. Thus, of the 589 that can be identified by location (some mail respondents removed any such identifying information,) 165 were from urban areas or 28 percent of the respondents. With the census showing that the number of people living in these same urban areas is at 24 percent this is considered well within the acceptable limits.

The second area of interest was the number of people that reside on the reservations in the state. The number of interviewees for whom residence can be determined that live on the reservation is 13.7 percent of the total. While this is much

lower than the number of recipients that are shown as tribal members (26.48 percent), the total number of people living on reservations in the state is only around 6.8 percent and the number of Native Americans living on the reservations is only 3.8 percent. Therefore, it appears that the number of those that live on reservations in this sample is greater than the average in the state. This is probably representative of the AFDC population living on reservations.

The study cannot tie specific responses to these populations however. In order to honor our commitment to preserve confidentiality, any identifier had to be separated from the actual responses. This was described above in the methodological development. While the information regarding how specific populations responded to certain questions may be somewhat useful, it is asserted here that the ethical considerations had to take a higher priority. Moreover, for the purposes of policy analysis this should not be an issue. Policy must be developed at the statewide level for the most part. Consequently, there is no way to gear such policy to specific populations.

Currently on AFDC: The first step in the interview process asked whether the respondent was currently on AFDC. This was necessary since the population being sampled was from the universe of those in the TEAMS data base. Since the system has been on line for nearly two years many of those listed may not be receiving benefits any longer. Of those contacted, 412 reported that they were on the program and 188 that they were not. This is probably not representative of the actual numbers of those that are in the data base that are no longer on the program since there were so many

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disconnected and changed telephone numbers. However, the 31.33 percent that reported that they were no longer on the program provides a sufficient amount of information to draw some conclusions about this group.

Those no Longer on Benefits were then asked a series of questions regarding their perceptions of what contributed to their ability to get off the program. The respondents were read a series of explanations for their departure from the program and asked to answer "Yes" or "No" if the explanation was relevant to their situation. The responses of any significance were that the respondents were just tired of being on welfare or that they got a job based on the skills that they possessed on their own. Figure I.A below shows the four most significant responses. The importance of the high number of responses stating that they did not receive training that enabled them to get a job through the agency indicates that the present programs are not viewed by the respondents as particularly effective in assisting recipients toward self sufficiency. Rather, when taken with the relatively high number that agreed that they got jobs with skills that they had previously, one may conclude that movement toward self sufficiency is substantially linked to their ability to take care of themselves in the first place.

What is particularly informative, however, is that the only answer that received a simple majority of affirmative responses was that they got tired of being on welfare. This demonstrates that the majority do not find this a particularly positive experience. In fact, the willingness of so many to leave the program just because it was so unpleasant shows that the sense of pride can even overwhelm what one might consider practicality. These

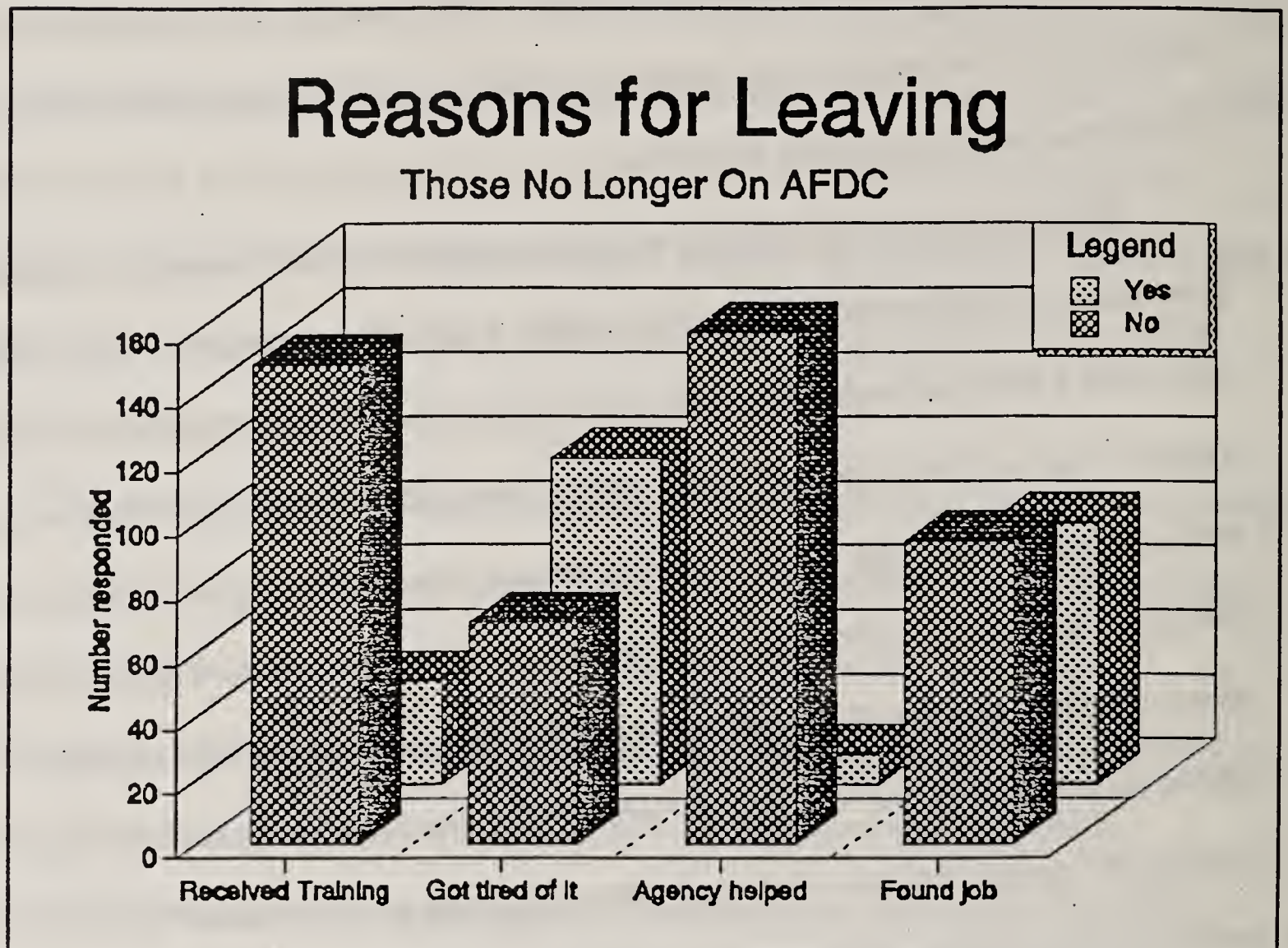


Figure I.A: Those no Longer Receiving people described their situation as rather desperate but they still preferred no assistance to continuing assistance. One could argue whether or not receiving assistance should be attractive but it is rather debatable that a preferred outcome is for people with children to take such chances.

The respondents also indicated overwhelmingly that what is needed for them to remain on their own is suitable employment. The insight that may be gained from this response rests in the reality of people that typically end up seeking assistance. They would rather be working in a job that pays enough for them to make it on their own.

Difficulty getting off AFDC

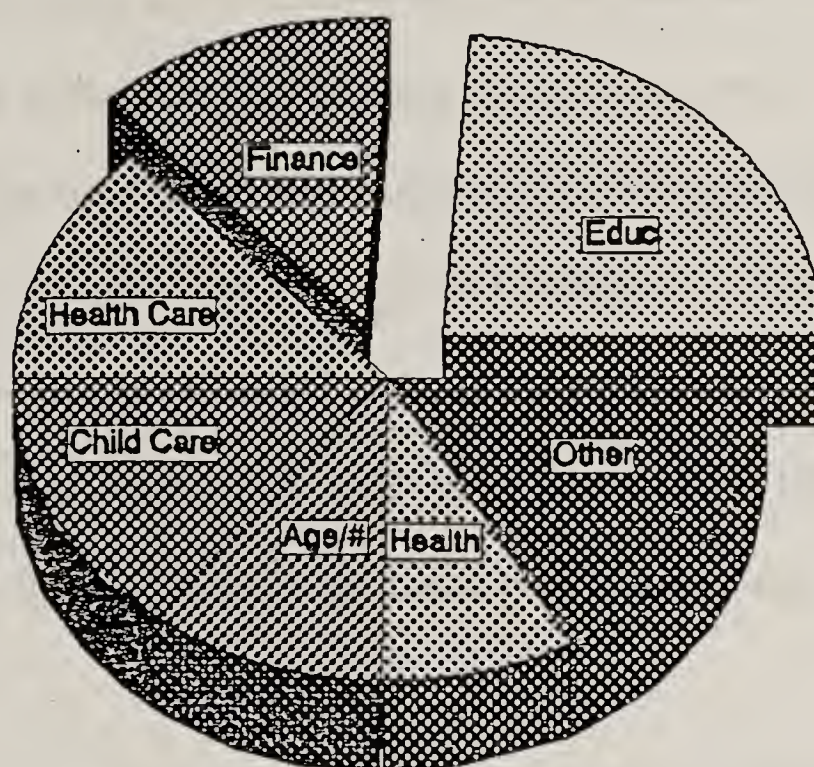


Figure I.B: Reported by those no longer receiving AFDC

Many of them expressed the frustration that they experienced in getting a job that did not pay well enough for them to support their families. This finding is clarified by the responses given when asked what they felt made it most difficult to get off the program. There is certainly plenty of literature and studies that indicate that it is difficult to get off assistance. A common perception is that the persistence of the programs is related to a flawed value system on the part of the recipients. The evidence gathered in this study indicates that the Montana recipients do not lack the incentive to take care of themselves, just the resources.

Figure I.B clarifies this finding by indicating the stated barriers respondents described which make it difficult to get off the program. The emphasis on skills, education, child care, and health care, indicate that the respondents are thinking in terms of how they can take care of themselves. In many of the open-ended responses, the respondents stated with conviction that they only wanted to get enough aid in the short term to get them to the point that they can support themselves. What is truly significant here is that among those that are no longer on the program, they prided themselves in "discovering" alternatives that would allow them to just receive the help they needed. This will be borne out by findings later in the study that describe the sentiments of the entire population.

The remaining questions were directed at all the respondents, those currently on and those not. There were few meaningful differences between the two populations (those currently on and those not).

Number of times on AFDC: All of the respondents were asked how many separate times they were on AFDC. In this sample, the interviewees reported that on average they had been on the program slightly under two times. An examination of the frequencies indicate that the number of respondents that reported they were on once or twice are, by far, the majority. Thus, the number that reported four or greater times has actually distorted the number of times to be nearer to two. Allowing for the 20 respondents that reported that they had been on for five or more times, the average worked out to be 1.8 times. Thus, it appears that AFDC recipients are unlikely to return

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to assistance unless there is no other perceived way to survive. This also indicates that any program that will move them toward self-sufficiency, and not punish them for such movement, will probably meet with considerable success.

With respect to length of stay on the program, the TEAMS data base was consulted. Generally, the practice has been that people are on the program temporarily. The problem of long term stay relates to a definite minority. Only 1.8 percent of those currently on file had initiated benefits prior to 1990. At worst, only 23.4 percent of all recipients have received benefits for over 24 months. This includes all of the children. If only counting adults on the program, only 20.1 percent have received benefits for over 24 months. When this figure is adjusted to allow for those over 60 and those that are disabled, and those that have more than four children, the number of able-bodied employable individuals receiving AFDC for over 24 months drops to around 15 percent of all recipients.

The respondents were then asked whether or not they considered it difficult to get off the program. Nearly 54 percent of the respondents indicated that it was difficult. This result at first appeared to contradict expectations that the program was creating dependency in its clientele. However, many of the open-ended responses clarified the meaning of this response. Many of the clients indicated that it was not difficult to get off the program because "you just call to say you want off." Thus, their response was more a matter of describing the process of getting off benefits and not so much moving to self-sufficiency. This finding is reinforced by the responses given to the follow-up question.

Those that said it was difficult to get off were asked to describe what they considered the barriers to getting off the program. Figure I.C depicts the results of this question.

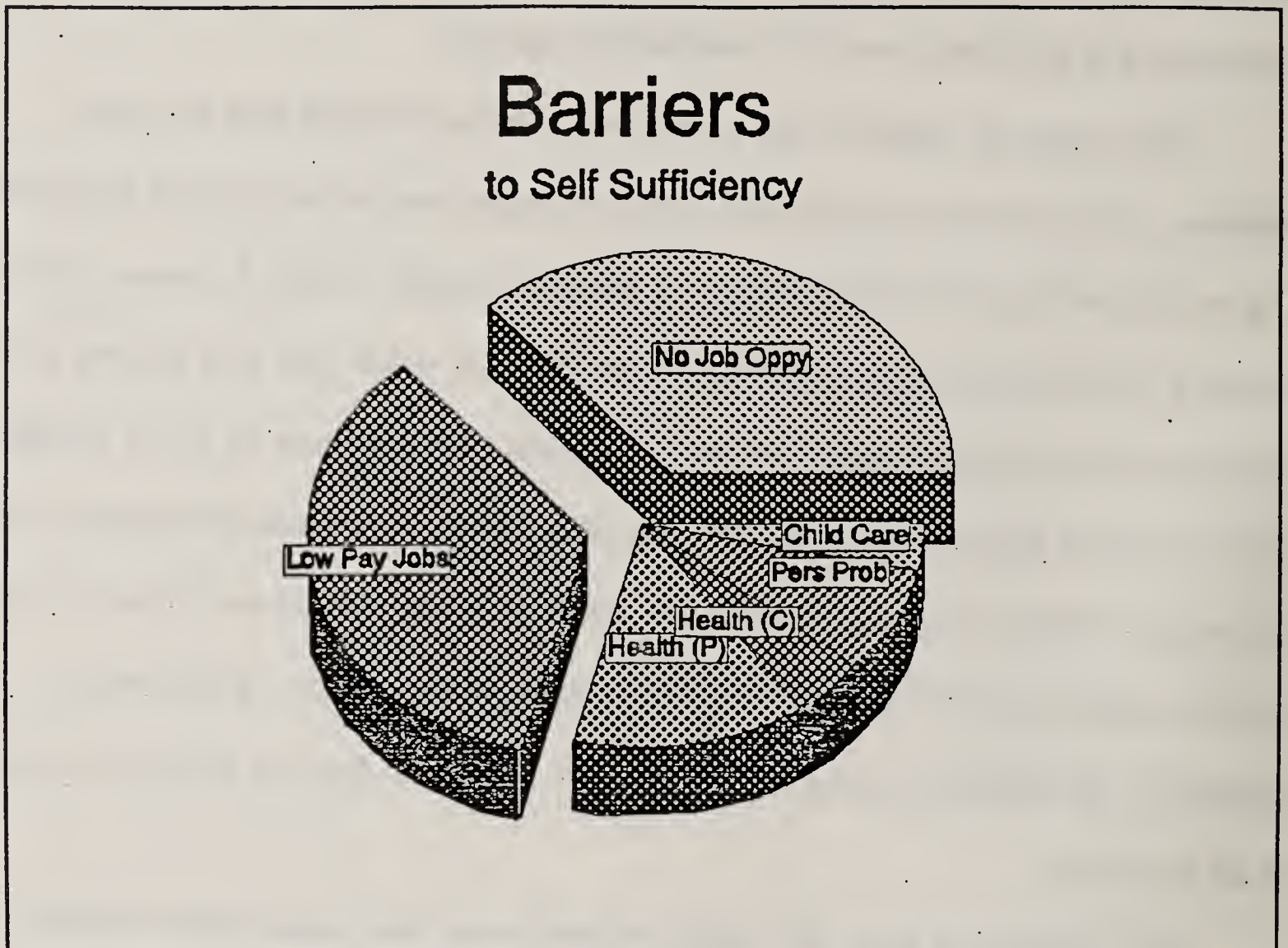


Figure I.C: Reported by those describing it as difficult
As clearly demonstrated by Figure I.C, the respondents feel that if they can get a job and/or that job provides a decent wage, they would be able to stay off the program. It also demonstrates that the majority are not offering what may be perceived as excuses to keep from having to work.

Age when AFDC first received. The entire sample was asked to indicate what age they were when they received AFDC for their child. Somewhat surprisingly, relatively

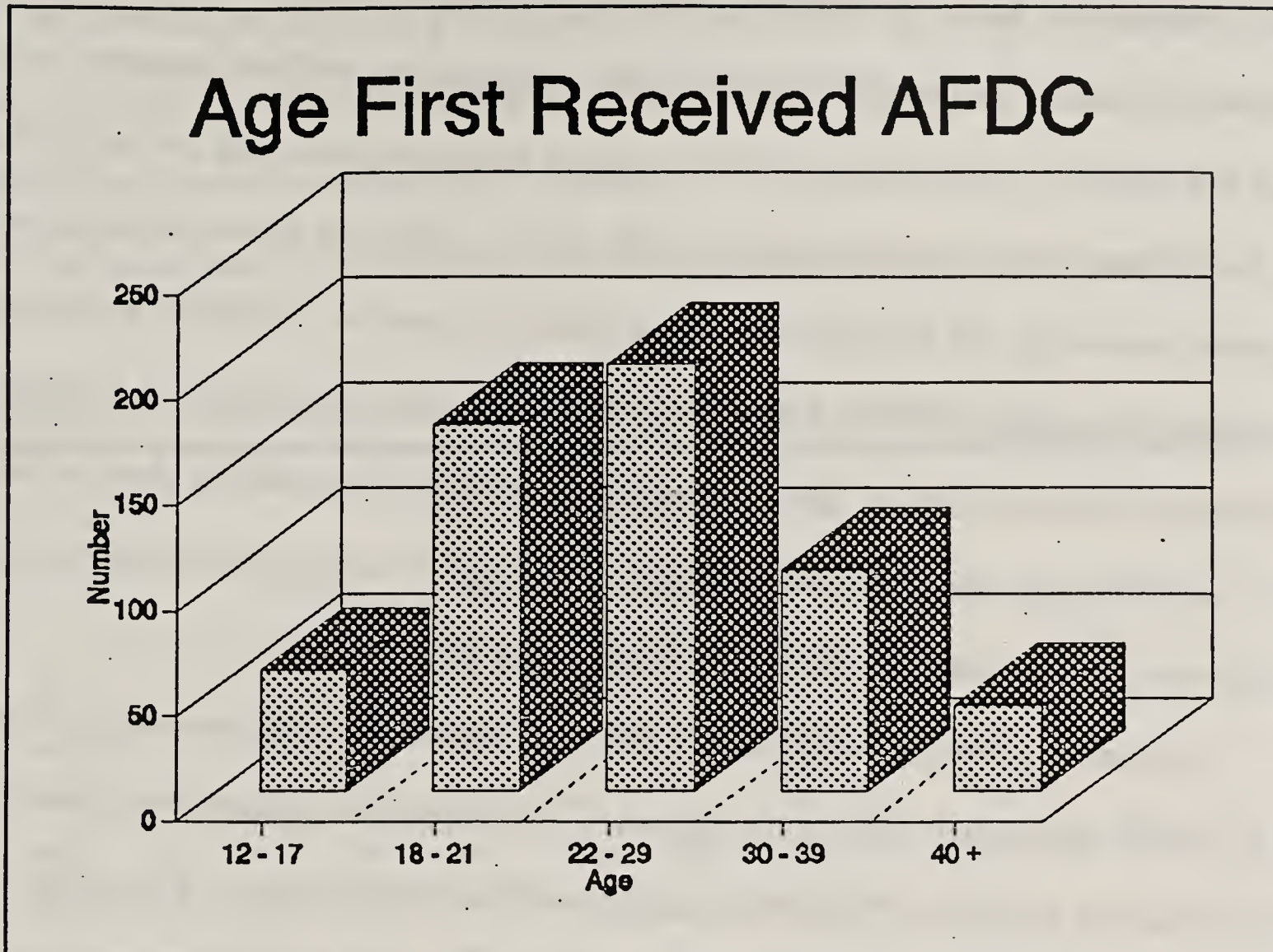


Figure I.D: Reported by all but 9 respondents

few of the respondents indicated that they had received benefits when they were minors (under the age of 18). As demonstrated by Figure I.D, the largest group of initial recipients were young adults grouped into 18-21 year-olds and 22-29 year-olds. On the surface, this challenges some of the assumptions surrounding AFDC in Montana. While teen parents may make a significant part of the population on AFDC throughout the nation, such would not appear to be the case here. Based on some of the later responses coupled with statements by several of the eligibility workers, the situation for teen mothers is apparently rather different in Montana. While Montana's fertility rate for

teens is only slightly below the national average, the rate for younger teens is considerably below (Reed and McBroom, 1993). Furthermore, evidence suggests that either the families of the younger mothers continue to support them and are unlikely to seek assistance or the teens are moving in with others. While the former explanation is somewhat reassuring, the latter should be the cause for concern. According to providers of services for teenage mothers, a significant number of these individuals are residing with other relatives or friends. Such arrangements apparently are placing them at some risk. This is an area that should be investigated further. It is rather important to learn in some meaningful manner what is happening to this population.

Another important consideration is that the teen mothers are more likely to end up on AFDC than those that delay pregnancy. The evidence to support this is drawn from the survey results, the TEAMS data, and studies of fertility rates. The survey responses show a dramatic jump in the number of respondents that began receiving benefits at age 18 and the TEAMS data base reinforces this finding. However, there is no corresponding rise in fertility rates between ages 17 and 18. Since this is the case, the only reasonable explanation is that a large number of those that began receiving AFDC at age 18 had become parents at a younger age but did not start receiving until they were legally adults. There are many possible explanations but nothing in the data from this study can affirm or deny these explanations. It may be safely concluded that a significant number of those on AFDC were teen mothers. However, it cannot be concluded that they are the largest group of recipients. Since at least some of the 18-21

year olds became parents during those years and the largest age group for beginning receipt reported by the respondents is 22-29 years, there is apparently some other set of explanations for the increasing AFDC clientele.

An examination of the TEAMS data base reveals that the more important

Table I: According to November 30, 1993 TEAMS data

Age & Marital Status										
Age	Divorced		Married		Never Married		Separated		Widowed	
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
under 18	17	16	23	47	11487	11459	5	11	-	-
18-21	5	76	64	280	61	1306	2	148	-	-
22-29	30	660	346	926	128	1610	20	567	-	13
30-39	113	1123	483	887	100	782	47	572	3	28
40-49	70	349	196	211	18	102	16	114	4	13
50-59	18	58	41	33	1	9	4	16	1	9
60+	-	5	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

concern is not teen parents but that more people are having children without being married. Since the number of males and females under 18 are virtually equal, one may safely conclude that these are almost all the dependent children. However, the numbers of individuals over 18 that indicate that they were never married is rather large. Of those between 18 and 39 years of age 3,987 have never been married. This compares with 6,380 that are either married, separated, or divorced. Overall, in this age group (18-39) 38.5 percent of the total AFDC population have never been married. This should be

some cause for concern since one might assume that claims that there is a lower level of commitment to traditional expectations of reserving child-bearing to married couples are supported by these numbers. However, the data may be misleading. Discussion with eligibility technicians indicates that there are a variety of alternative explanations for the high number. One explanation is that earlier application requirements stated that if a child in the household had an absent parent to whom the adult recipient was never married then that claim indicated that the parent was never married even if the parent was currently married. Some applicants reported that they were never married to avoid involving a former spouse in the life of the child. Nevertheless, the number of recipients reporting that they were never married is worthy of further investigation.

Generational dependency. The respondents were also asked whether or not their family had received assistance when they were children. Results provide evidence that generational dependency is not as significant a problem in Montana since only 13 percent of the respondents indicate that they came from previous AFDC families. Generally, those that did report coming from such families were on for five years or less. It is not suggested here that generational dependency cannot become an issue in this state but that it has not occurred in significant numbers yet. Much of the explanation for this low level of second generation dependency is the persistent community stigma attached to such dependency (Miller, 1994). This is reflected in the low rate of participation in the food stamp program throughout the state, which is only 38.7 percent of those eligible (1990 Census).

Life without AFDC. The respondents were then asked to react to a series of statements describing their lives without AFDC. A Likert scale was employed to measure intensity of reactions to the statement (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree.) Such scales allow analysts to gauge for levels of importance to the respondents and to check for responses that are less than genuine. In other words, if a respondent were to choose to respond that they agreed with every statement the results would be neutral, since the scale involves an equal number of positive and negative statements.

The instrument is designed to measure the value system of those on the program. The statements involve the willingness to resort to constructive alternatives or to those that may be considered socially destructive. For example, a willingness to turn to family or friends for help is seen as constructive since it builds upon a support network. Accepting hopelessness as an expected outcome or giving up children are viewed as socially destructive behaviors since they weaken the family unit and detract from the upholding of values of perseverance. Outcomes relative to particular statements offer some important insights as well as the outcome of the scale itself. Thus, highlights of the reactions to particular statements will be offered first followed by an analysis of the outcome of the overall scale.

The results were calculated by assigning a value of +2 to strongly agree, +1 to agree, -1 to disagree, and -2 to strongly disagree. The first statement that evoked a level of intensity nearing one (1) (which indicates a relatively intense level of agreement) was

that the respondents "would have turned to family for help." This yielded a +.63 which suggests that the population acknowledges that they do have a support network in their families. Some open-ended responses clarify this result in that the respondents indicate that they **would** turn to their families only if they had to but they did not want to burden their parents.

Two statements stand out as having the highest level of intensity (1.03). The first is that the respondent "would have had to work more than one job" (agree). The second was that the respondent "would have turned to illegal activities" (disagree). The fact that these two statements are fairly clear in their statement of values explains their level of intensity. The respondents accept the value of working hard to support themselves and generally, are not seeking "short cuts." The fact that the intensity levels are virtually equal provides mutual validation of the results. Had the intensity levels been further apart then one could make the case that the respondents were merely stating what was expected of them.

The final statement of note is the acknowledgement that their parents would have supported them. Allowing for the number of those that have no parents, the positive level of agreement of .88 shows relatively intense expectation that their support system in the family was something they could rely on if they had to. However, again the open-ended responses clarify this response. Since a large number of the respondents probably come from families that are in the low to moderate income categories, they have not turned to this resource because it would cause additional strain on their parents' welfare.

Table II below presents the results of the scale itself. Again, the results were calculated by assigning a value of +2 to strongly agree, +1 to agree, -1 to disagree, and -2 to strongly disagree. The frequency of each response was multiplied by these values. The quotient was then divided by the total number of responses to arrive at an average level of intensity. The result average was then adjusted as positive (+) or negative (-) based on whether or not the statement represented a socially positive or negative sentiment.

Table II. Socially Constructive Scale

Statement	(+/-)	SA +2	A +1	D -1	SD -2	Rel. Intensity
Forced to leave state	(-)	60	162	269	79	.25
Been w/o a home	(-)	100	235	194	45	-.26
Turned to family	(+)	126	308	99	46	.63
Turned to friends	(+)	36	241	234	67	-.095
Children sent elsewhere	(-)	61	166	226	124	.32
Work more than one job	(+)	166	337	56	12	1.03
Turn to illegal act.	(-)	25	70	249	235	1.03
Dropped out of school	(-)	78	203	165	61	-.14
Sought child care	(+)	106	384	59	17	.88
Parents would support	(+)	116	319	87	40	.68
Average intensity level						+ .43

The overall result of the scale indicates a +.43 socially constructive sentiment. This means that the respondents would prefer constructive alternatives to destructive. Such a preference indicates that there are definitely positive attributes within this population to build upon. While the intensity of positive sentiments is perhaps not as

strong as one would hope, it is a positive outcome nonetheless. An important consideration here is to reflect on how positive one might be under these circumstances.

Evaluation of Welfare Offices. The respondents were next asked to rate the welfare offices in a variety of areas from courtesy to placement. The interviewees were given the area to be rated and asked if they would describe it as "excellent", "good", "fair", "poor" or "very poor". These ratings were converted to grades with A=excellent, B=good, C=fair, D=poor, and F=very poor. These grades were then converted to a grade point average (GPA-based on a four-point system) much the same as GPAs are calculated in colleges. Table III below presents the results of the GPA calculations for the areas covered.

Table III: Rating of Welfare Offices

Variable	A	B	C	D	F	GPA
1.Courtesy clients	152	219	124	49	35	2.69
2.Courtesy to you	179	233	110	34	27	2.86
3.Timely processing	197	208	97	53	28	2.84
4.Concern for client	127	201	137	61	47	2.52
5.Respectful treatm.	123	234	116	65	40	2.58
6.Benefits explained	163	233	99	58	30	2.75
7.Helpful	156	232	110	54	29	2.74
8.Treated with trust	160	243	87	43	42	2.75
9.Get you to better sit.	109	132	92	120	93	2.08
10.# options presented	68	125	104	128	115	1.82
11.Promote JOBS	75	112	60	97	102	1.91
12.Accessibility	156	163	108	81	67	2.45

Figure I.E demonstrates the outcomes indicated in Table III. This graphic depiction clearly shows the areas that should be of concern. Those variables that are well below the others have to do with moving clients to self sufficiency. The respondents felt fairly comfortable with their treatment by the eligibility workers in almost every area that had to do with the processing of claims. However, they gave rather poor ratings for attempts to improve their situation. If one assumes that a 2.5 GPA is acceptable (an assumption not considered unreasonable) then all of the areas related to moving clients toward self sufficiency fall short of the mark.

This is an important finding but not a surprising one. Interviews with the eligibility workers indicate that they are essentially not expected to move clients toward

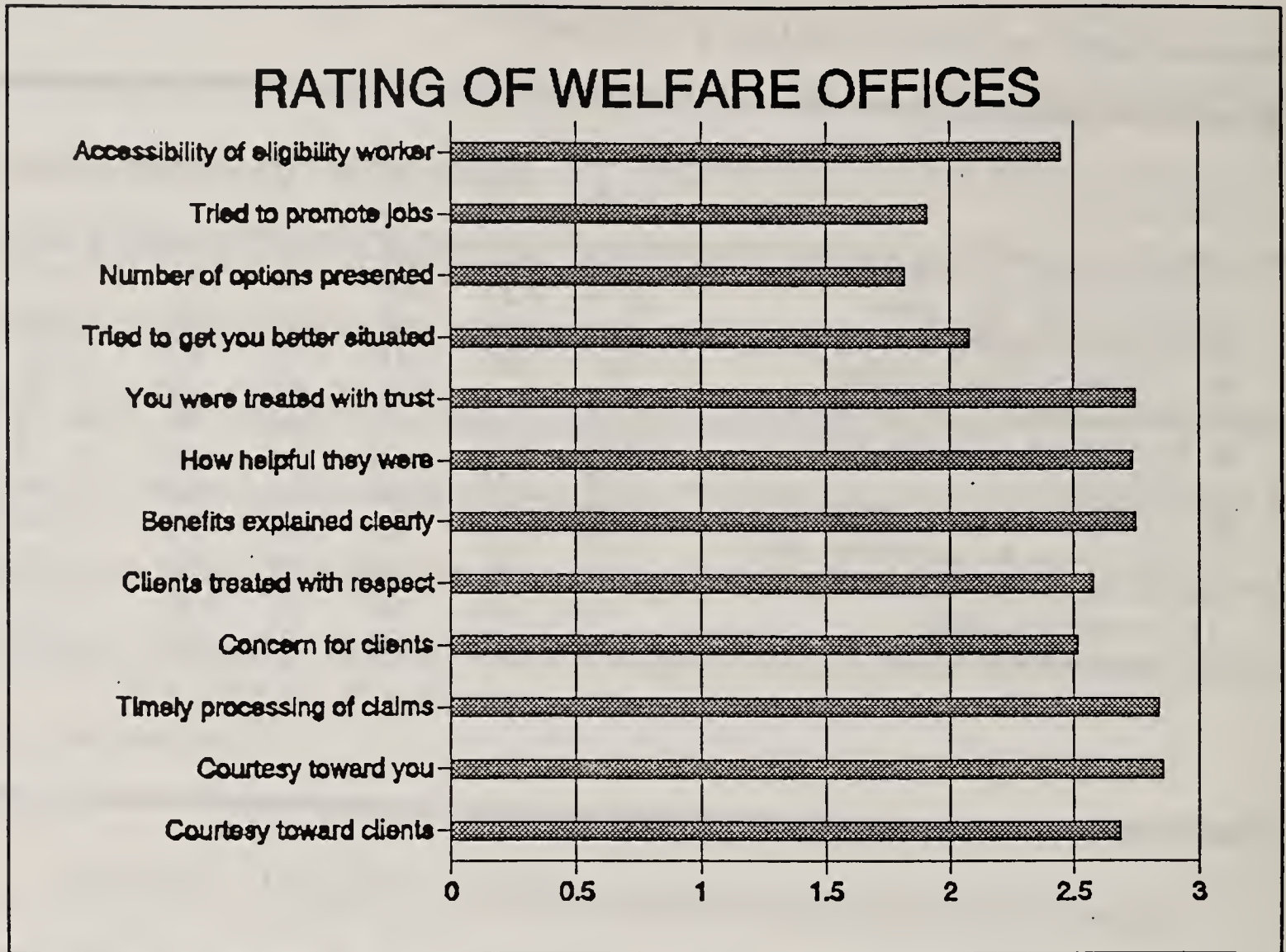


Figure I.E: Reported by all respondents

self sufficiency. They are actually discouraged from making such attempts. This provides further evidence that some reforms are needed. Even the clients are aware that they are not being moved toward self sufficiency in spite of the reality that they would prefer to be given such opportunity. The significance of this scale, along with the rating of training programs that follows is that they strongly indicate that some reform is needed in the charge for welfare offices.

Assessment of job training programs. The sample was next asked if they had participated in the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills training program (JOBS) or any

other employment training program. The result of this question sheds some light on the extent of participation since only 31.4 percent of the respondents indicated that they had been enrolled in such a program. This may present cause for concern in light of the fact that respondents had indicated previously that they preferred employment to receiving AFDC. Furthermore, later in the interview 60.2 percent indicated that they still need some form of training. The concern here is that there appear to be a significant number of recipients that are not receiving training even though it is clear that they need it and want it.

The respondents that reported having received some form of employment training were then asked to rate a number of the activities related to such training as being "very helpful", "helpful", "a little helpful", or "a waste of time". **The purpose of this scale is to compare perceived effectiveness of these programs by the participants.** The responses were then assigned weights with: "very helpful" = +2; "helpful" = +1; "a little helpful" = 0; and "a waste of time" = -1. Thus, if a program received a rating of over 1.0 then it was perceived as serving the purpose for which it was intended. It should be fairly apparent that ratings of less than 1.0 indicate that the participants consider the program only marginally helpful at best.

Figure I.F below shows the results of this rating scale. Generally, the programs fared less than what may be considered desirable. The only two alternatives that clear the 1.0 target are GED courses and Self Esteem Courses. The alternatives that were rated the most poorly are Job Placement and Other Employment Programs. The fact

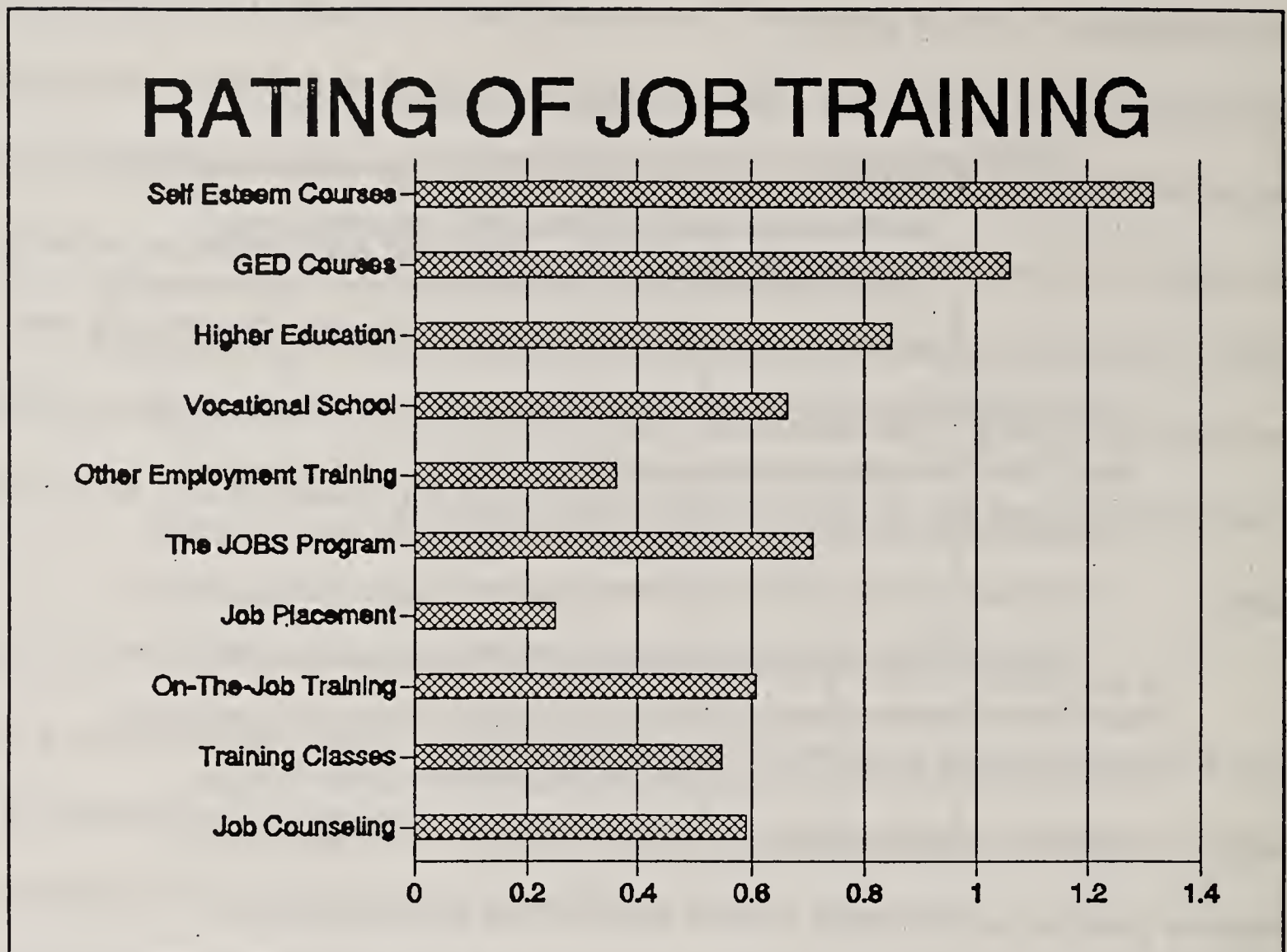


Figure I.F: Reported by those that had participated in such programs.

that Job Placement fared so poorly is actually quite instructive. If the respondents are not being placed in jobs as a result of the programs then they are not going to rate the programs particularly well.

Further examination of the responses to questions regarding the utility of the JOBS and training programs was conducted to determine whether or not there existed a relationship between funding levels for these programs and the respondents' evaluation. The 13 fully funded counties were separated from the remaining counties in order to carry out this comparison. The number of respondents indicating that they had

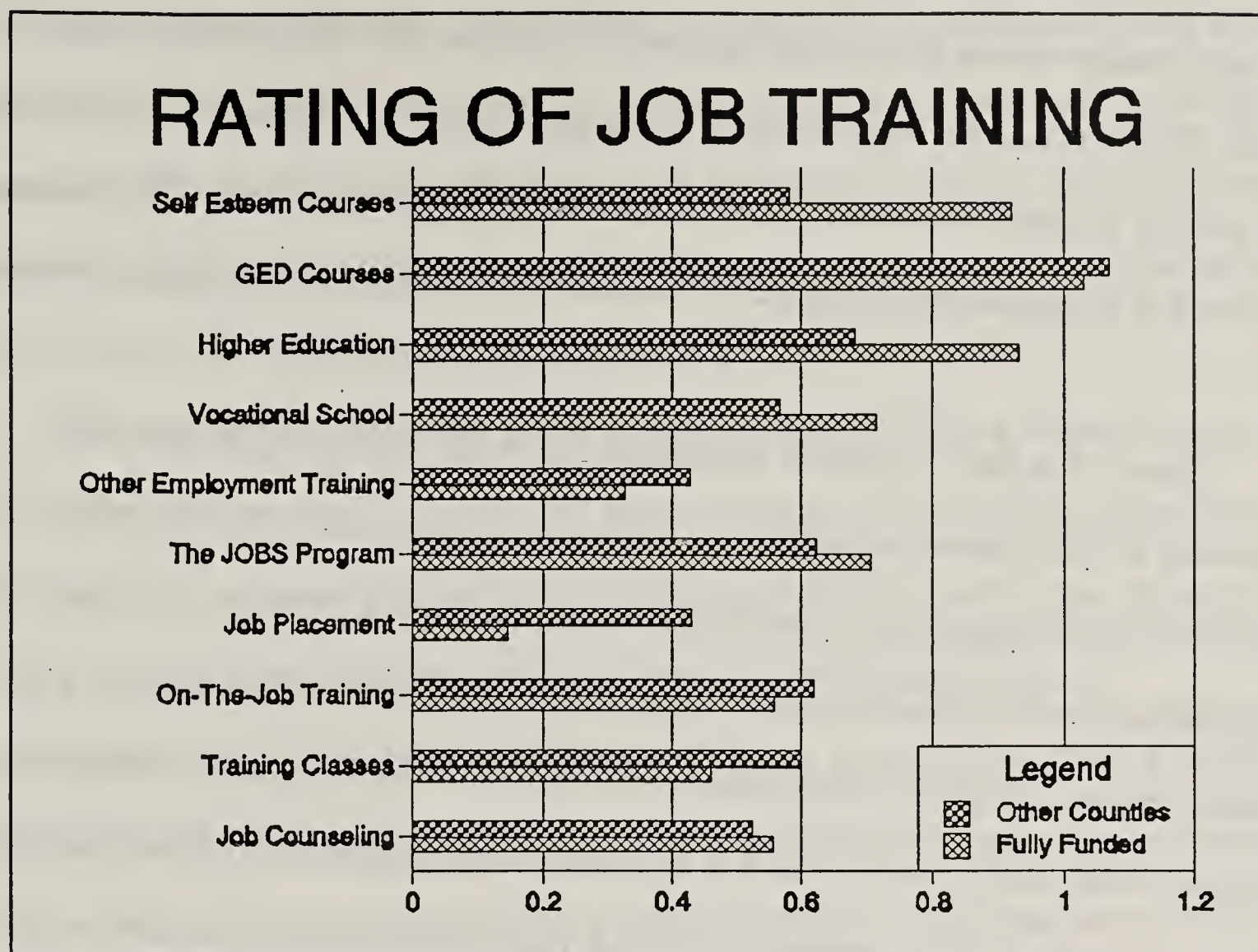


Figure I.Fa: Reported by Respondents Indicating Participation in Such Programs

participated in such programs in fully funded counties were 132; 66 respondents in other counties reported participation. Figure I.Fa reveals that there is some discernable difference between the two types of counties. The more significant differences are found in the ratings of job placement efforts and higher education. The rating of job placement was significantly lower for fully funded counties as opposed to all the other counties (fully funded = .146 vs other = .431). The rating of higher education fared significantly better in fully funded counties (fully funded = .918; Other = .583). These findings indicate that the fully funded counties do not show any evidence of receiving

favorable ratings related to expected outcomes than those that are not fully funded. Finally, 22 percent of the respondents that had participated in fully funded counties and 20.8 percent of those from other counties reported gaining employment. This indicates that there is no significant difference in this outcome between the two types of counties.

Even if it is just a matter of perception on the part of the participants that placement is likely there is a problem of efficacy. In either case, the ability of the program to move participants to self sufficiency is diminished. If they are, in fact, not being placed then they are obviously not going to be moved to self sufficiency. If they believe they are not going to be placed the likelihood of their success is in doubt before they ever reach such a point. There is apparently some need to reexamine placement efforts and either work on improving the track record or at reducing the occurrence of low expectations. Additional research should be conducted to compare these expectations to actual outcomes. Furthermore, research should be pursued regarding the quality in both terms of income of the jobs being gained and sustainability of such jobs. Interestingly enough, the respondents did not rate the programs themselves as poorly as they did the placement. Part of the explanation of this phenomenon is that the programs are insufficiently outcome-based. In other words, they are not designed to move the participant toward endeavors which are highly likely to present job opportunities. This is not unique to JOBS since it is a common problem in any education program. In 1990, I presented a paper that assessed how well higher education was "linked" to the

employment sector. The truth is that linkage in education has traditionally been a low priority. For a variety of reasons, educators have claimed that they should be completely independent of the job market. Their only task is to provide whatever skills the students are seeking. Moreover, skills only need to be taught in a manner that is conducive to the classroom. Further discussion of this aspect will be offered in Part II.

The interviewees were then asked whether or not the training helped them to get a job. The fact that only 21.5 percent of those that had received training (allowing for those that gave no answer indicating that they had not finished) did in fact, get a job reinforces the findings regarding the effectiveness of job training programs.

Furthermore, many of the open-ended comments by the general population of recipients indicate that the jobs for which they do become eligible are minimum wage jobs with no benefits. This presents a recipient with an onerous decision. They may accept such employment and risk having no health care coverage or many of the other protections associated with AFDC or they can continue the reliability of staying on the program.

What is most interesting about this decision is that it appears to be largely based on misinformation. For example, it is possible to retain medical coverage and child care assistance after taking a job for a time. However, a large number of the respondents indicated that they believed that this was not the case. Thus, part of the explanation for low placement may be that the people that received the training may not have been willing to accept an entry-level (maybe minimum wage) job. One possible strategy in this case is to work on clearing up misperceptions regarding the ability to retain certain

benefits in order to ease some apprehensions. Then again, if the jobs being presented are low paying, the providers may want to entertain other strategies. This is another area for additional research.

Education. When asked if they were attending school presently, nearly 24 percent indicated that they were attending at the time and 5 percent that their spouse was attending. This suggests that a significant part of the AFDC population is enrolled in school. However, many indicated in the open-ended responses that going to school was a rather daunting task in their situation. The challenges faced by these individuals center around trying to manage school and family. In many instances, students may receive reduced benefits because of financial aid or unavailability for work. This practice actually discourages behavior that is constructive. Many of the open-ended responses ask that recipients not be "punished" for going to school.

The sample was asked what level of education they had achieved. Figure I.G shows how this population compares with the entire population of the state based on 1990 census data. Generally, the AFDC population is less educated than the general public. This is especially the case with those that have some high school without a diploma or some college without a diploma. This finding would support the claim that people that are trying to raise children under these circumstances are much less likely to complete their schooling. Again, this would suggest that some considerations for this population need to be developed that will allow them to complete their education.

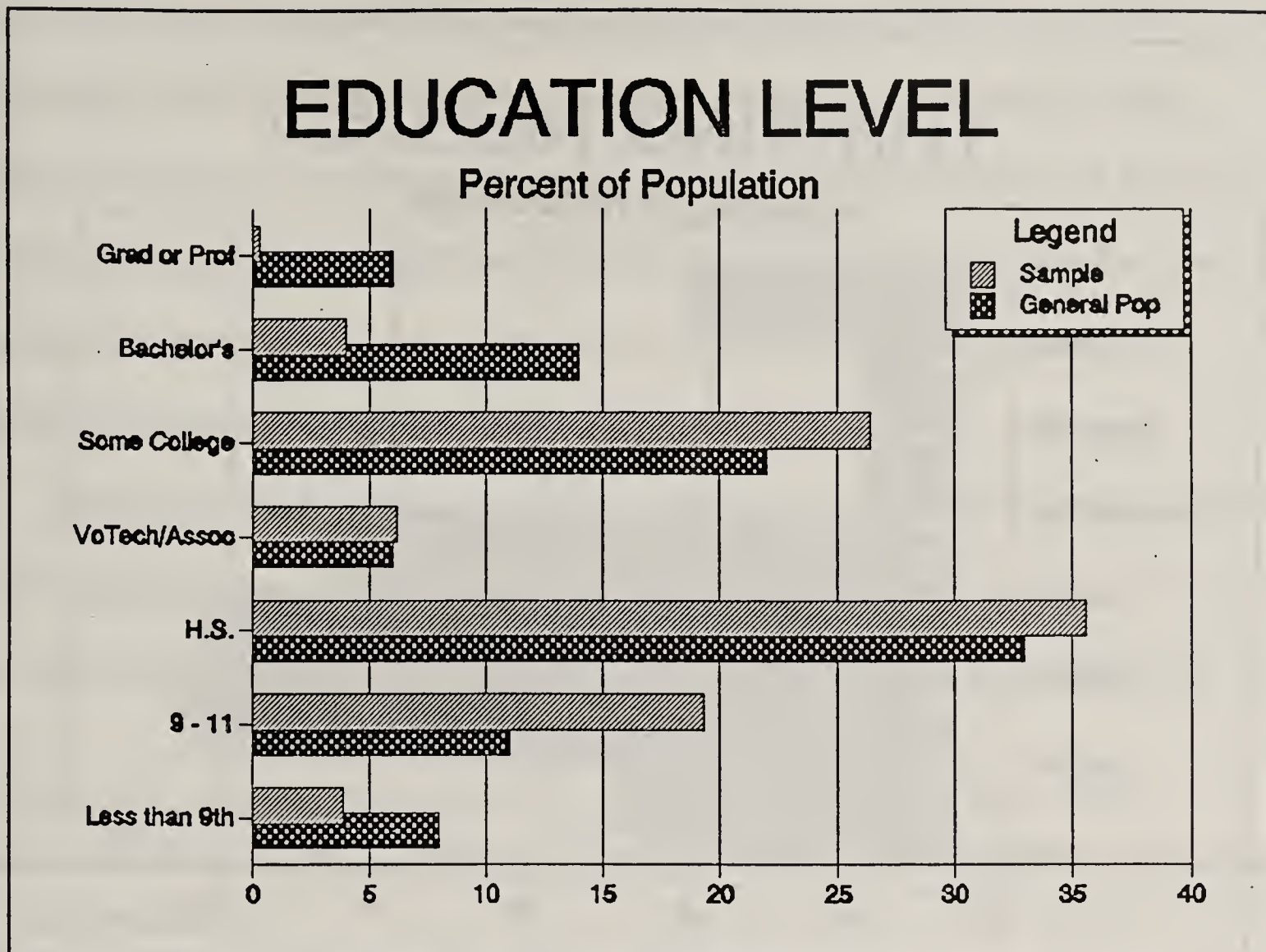


Figure I.G: Reported by all respondents

As described earlier, the respondents were also asked whether or not they needed additional training. Over 60 percent replied that they did need training. Again, part of the significance of this finding is that the population recognizes that they need further training in order to move toward self sufficiency. Figure I.H below depicts the kinds of training that the respondents suggested that they need. The majority of those responding indicated that they needed formal types of training including high school, vocational-technical school, a college degree, or training that would lead to a professional license. This should come as no surprise since the need for a formal education in order to

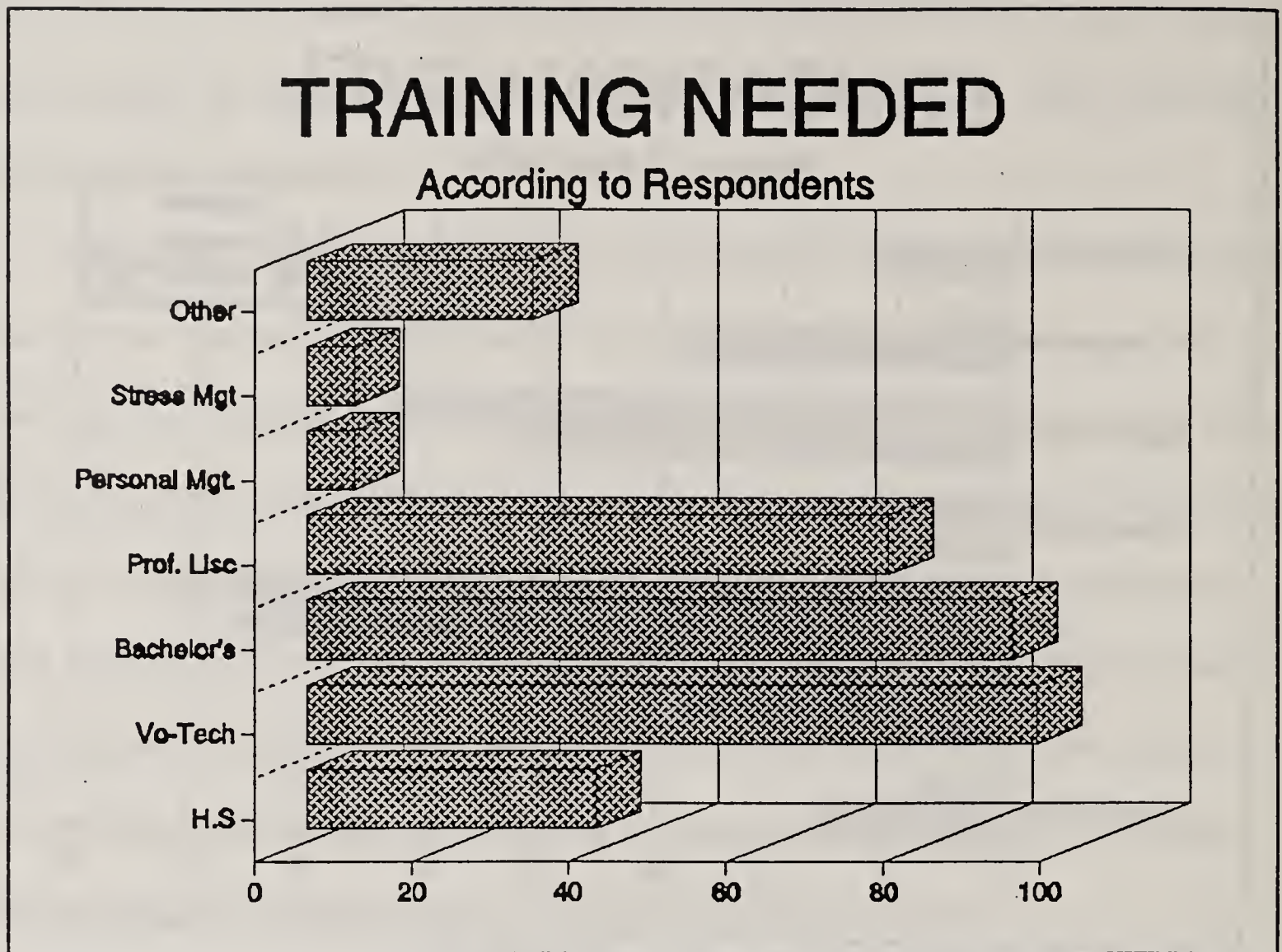


Figure I.H: Reported by Those That Said They Needed Training

survive is widely acknowledged in our culture.

The findings regarding education bring out the need to confront a fairly paramount issue. The policy decision that must be made either now or later is whether or not it is wise to invest in education in order to avoid expenditures. The evidence presented in the literature demonstrates that the question of investment is not really an "either/or" situation (see bibliography). There will be no escaping some payment. Either assistance is given, education is made available (including job skills training) or other public services will be provided in the forms of stepped-up law enforcement and

other forms of social control. This will be analyzed further in Part II but suffice it to say at this point that the choice is to give people the opportunity to provide for their children or face the consequences of a sizable disenfranchised population in the future. There is nothing particularly profound about such a statement since critics from both right and left have assented this. The question to be addressed is the method of providing the needed education.

Options pursued prior to application. Respondents were read a series of options that one might pursue before seeking public assistance and answered either "yes" or "no" that they had tried them prior to applying. Table IV below shows the results. The

Table IV: Alternatives tried prior to applying for AFDC

Alternative	Yes	%	No	%
Full time employment	364	64.2	202	35.6
Part time employment	316	55.8	250	42.4
Self employment	122	22.0	433	77.8
Returning to school	285	50.1	284	49.9
Family help	341	60.4	224	39.6
Help from church	104	18.4	460	81.4
Help from charity groups	112	19.9	452	80.1
Living somewhere else	250	42.4	317	55.9
Help from other parent	196	34.8	368	65.2
Selling property	79	13.4	485	82.2

respondents indicated that they had pursued the traditional courses of action especially full and part time employment, family help, and returning to school. However, they had not pursued assistance from churches, charity groups or by selling property. This is

consistent with expectations since churches and charity groups are typically viewed as courses of last resort and few of these people would have property to sell. The stigma generally attached to those that would seek church or charity assistance is that they are generally destitute individuals. The typical AFDC recipient does not view himself/herself as being destitute. This finding further demonstrates that the population presents sufficient positive attributes and therefore opportunity to build on their values.

If any of the results in response to this question can be labelled as disturbing, it is the rather large number that have indicated that they **did not seek** assistance from the other parent. Of those answering (which allows for those with two-parent families) 65.2 percent indicated that they had not sought such assistance. The concern here is that absent parents are not being held accountable for whatever reason. Eligibility technicians confirmed this suspicion by explaining that it is extremely difficult to get their clients to acknowledge the responsibility of the other parent. There were many explanations offered. These included the unwillingness to include the other parent in the lives of the children, concern that the absent parent would be punished somehow, and that the other parent while not married to the individual was actually living in the household. To be frank, there is no way to describe this phenomenon as anything but a national disgrace. The fact that so many absent parents are failing to provide for their own children is nothing short of appalling.

Another issue that was raised during discussions with eligibility technicians and others was the perception on the part of applicants that any effort to seek assistance

from the other parent would have undesirable consequences. The fear was that if child support was paid that there would be a concomitant requirement for visitation rights. This issue is rather complex in that there is partial truth to this belief. The de jure relationship between financial responsibility and visitation is non-existent. However, the de facto relationship between the two is quite real. In other words, the law is clear in stating that no mutual condition exists but the social norms between the two parties is that the absent parent uses financial support as leverage and the custodial parent uses visitation as leverage in dealing with the other parent.

The legal precedent is clear with respect to the relationship, if any, between the issues of child support versus visitation. In this regard, first consider MCA Section 40-4-109 which provides:

Independence of provisions of decree or temporary order. If a party fails to comply with a provision of a decree or temporary order or injunction, the obligation of the other party to make payments for support or maintenance or to permit visitation is not suspended but he may move the court to grant appropriate order.

Montana Supreme Court decisions further add:

A divorce decree cannot condition a support obligation on the exercise of visitation. *Fitzgerald vs Fitzgerald* 190 Mt. 66, 618 p.2d 867 (1980)

The court erred in conditioning the exercise of visitation upon the payment of support. *In re Marriage of Harper*, 235 Mt. 41, 764 p.2d 1283 (1988)

One's obligation to provide child support is in no way connected with one's right to visitation. *In the Matter of the Adoption K.L.J.K.*, 224 Mt. 418, 730 p.2d 1135 (1986)

The law is also clear that child support and visitation are separate incidence, neither being dependent nor conditional upon the other. *Blakeslee vs. Horton*, 222 Mt. 351, 722 p.2d 1148 (1986) ²

The policy concern here then is to develop methods of enforcement that overcome this perceived barrier and to improve the information available to the custodial parents.

While this is a difficult undertaking, it is a worthwhile one nonetheless.

Table V: Motivation Scale

Statement	SA	A	D	SD	Index
Everyone had abandoned me.	43	123	311	101	-.53
I could have tried harder.	16	153	294	148	.59
I couldn't think of anything else.	108	293	148	27	-.53
I needed more information.	44	163	319	38	.25
My children were suffering.	78	240	221	35	.18
This wasn't going to be so bad.	18	295	200	61	-.01
I was worried about having no home.	120	254	162	42	.43
This would only be temporary.	151	384	29	15	1.08
The state owed me some help.	12	81	339	147	.91
I could not find a job anywhere.	91	223	211	34	.22
I could have left the state.	21	146	298	103	-.56
No one else cared what happened.	20	102	327	128	.76
Overall Average Index					+.23

Motivational levels. The respondents were then read a set of statements to which they were to react. Again, as with the previous Likert scale, the respondents were to answer "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", or "strongly disagree" with the statement as read. The responses were assigned values with "strongly agree" = +2; "agree" = +1; "disagree" = -1; and "strongly disagree" = -2. All of the responses were then tabulated,

² All of the above information was graciously provided by John M. McRae, Staff Attorney for the Child Support Enforcement Division, SRS, Missoula in his letter of January 10, 1994

assigned the values, averages were constructed for each question and the results averaged for the total index of the scale. The scale is designed to measure level of motivation. If the motivation was relatively high, the index would be close to +2 and if the motivation was very low then the index would yield closer to -2. As with the previous scale, highlights of the individual responses will be offered first followed by an assessment of the scale itself offering some interpretation. The results of the scale are shown in Table V.

The basis of the scale is drawn from what is called "expectancy theory". (Vroom, 1969) Expectancy theory explains motivation in terms of how much a person is inclined to do one thing as opposed to not doing that particular thing. For example, we all experience varying levels of motivation with respect to going to work on a given morning. There is always some level of motivation but the lower it is the more likely it is that the motivation to do something else is higher. Without going into any unnecessary details the factors that go into motivation are almost all internal. They range from the desirability of the particular action (or valence) to the individual's assessment of the probable outcome of the behavior. The reason for using such a scale in this questionnaire is to address more specifically whether or not this particular population is motivated more to be employed or to sit at home and receive benefits. More accurately, the scale measures the role of external pressures, e.g., the possibility of having no home, on prompting one to apply. This is, after all, a major consideration in current policy concerns. Thus, the scale actually presents a discussion of "de-motivators" as far as

seeking assistance is concerned. If the results were negative, then it is reasonable to conclude that there were insufficient de-motivators present to seek assistance.

The specific responses that arouse interest are any that yield an index nearing 1.0. The two responses that are worthy of such interest then are those to "this would only be temporary" and "the state owed me some help". In the first case, regarding the expectation that the program would be temporary, the response levels show the highest level of intensity. This clearly shows that people that decide to receive assistance not only do so reluctantly but they do not intend to stay on the program. The other highly intense response is a nearly equal level of intensity disagreeing with the expectation that the state owed them help. This is one of the more common fears that are voiced regarding welfare dependency. This sentiment has been shown to be one common to the general public as well (Gilbert, 1993). Since that is the case, this study shows that such sentiment is no more common in this population than with society in general. More importantly it is not a motivator for seeking assistance in most cases.

The overall scale helps to clarify the state of motivation in the AFDC population. The results indicate that the motivators are more likely to be related to being in deep trouble without applying. In other words, it requires a fairly clear perception of impending suffering to prompt a person to seek assistance. It is not the first choice in courses of action. This bears up the results regarding what was tried prior to applying described earlier. Admittedly, the motivators are not as high as perhaps one would like to see in any population but they are positive with an index of +.23. The ideal level of

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motivation is ordinarily around 1.0. Ironically, those that exceed 1.0 are typically not highly productive individuals. (Lawler, 1964) Generally, one should not expect that these people would be highly motivated. They have faced serious setbacks in their lives, such as unexpected pregnancy or abandonment by a spouse, and they are not likely to have experienced many successes. They do, however, uphold the American work ethic -- it is better to work than not to work. Again, this should suggest that it will be worthwhile to build on this ethic and design programs more toward movement to self sufficiency.

Summary and Conclusion

This study has been directed at painting a clearer picture of the population in the state of Montana that receive or have received assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. Northwest Community Consultants (NCC), under contract with the Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS), has conducted a combination telephone and mail-out survey of this population. This has been supplemented with further research through the TEAMS data base and examination of similar studies in other states and national data. This report provides a preliminary analysis of the data from the survey conducted in November 1993.

A total of 538 current and former AFDC recipients were interviewed over the telephone during the period of November 8-11, 1993. The interviews involved a series of forced-choice, Likert, and open-ended questions. The quantity needed to complete the interviews was 1,385 due to a higher than normal disconnect rate for the telephone numbers. The refusal rate for interviews was 4.2 percent which is much lower than

normally expected. The telephone interviews were supplemented with 198 mailed out questionnaires. Of these, 62 responses have been received or nearly 31 percent, when the 17 incorrect addresses (no longer at the address, etc.) are eliminated. Thus, 600 responses are included in this study. This sample yields a ± 4 percentage confidence interval. The results of the survey present a picture of the AFDC population that offer insights into their condition and generally, their attitudes.

The respondents that indicated they were no longer receiving assistance, reported that the most important reason for them to leave the program is that they simply got tired of being on the program. This is rather important in considering policy. Recipients do not like being on the program. They also indicated that they were able to get off the program because they got a job with skills they already possessed. The barriers to getting off the program that the former recipients described varied but were mainly related to having the resources to provide for all the needs of caring for children from education to child care. Their open-ended responses reveal that the main need is for jobs that pay well enough.

The entire sample was asked the remaining questions in the interview. The respondents indicated that they had been on the program an average of 1.8 times. Thus, the concerns that people tended to go on and off the program are not borne out by the survey. When asked whether or not it is difficult to get off the program, the majority said that it was and that the lack of job opportunities and well-paying jobs were the primary reasons. Thus, the respondents are interested in working but need to make

enough to provide for their families. The sample also reported that the first time they received benefits for their children was during their early adult years. This is one of the more intriguing findings in this study. In the case of the state of Montana, the concern that the main driving force behind the increase in AFDC clientele is the number of teen pregnancies does not appear to be true. The evidence suggests that the teen mothers are probably staying with their families or others and not entering the AFDC system at that time. The larger problem is the number of single parent households created by a high divorce and/or abandonment rate and those that have never been married and over the age of 18. Further, the respondents indicated that only 13 percent of them were second generation recipients. While this may be slightly higher than the general population, the better explanation is that they come from poorer families rather than they have developed a value system that encourages receiving public assistance.

When asked to describe life without AFDC, the sample described a situation where they would have to turn to family or friends for help and/or seek a second job. While this indicates that they do have the work ethic firmly intact, there should be some concern for the children of these parents. If they were to take on additional work one has to wonder who would be taking care of the children. There is plenty of evidence that the prevalence of "latchkey kids" is already posing serious problems. Generally, this population is more likely to seek socially constructive alternatives than those that may be considered socially destructive.

The respondents have considerable appreciation for those that work in the welfare offices. They generally, rated the performance of these individuals with respect to service and courtesy rather well averaging around a 2.75 GPA. However, they rated the offices rather poorly regarding how well they tried to move them toward self sufficiency, giving them only a 1.8 GPA. They felt that they were not really given much in the way of options to improve their own situation. When asked to specifically focus on job training programs in general, the respondents gave them a rather luke warm assessment with the exception of GED courses and Self Esteem courses. Only 21.5 percent of those that had been enrolled in job training programs stated that the program helped them to get a job. These results would indicate that much work needs to be done yet in these programs before making them a requirement for all recipients.

Nearly 24 percent of the respondents were currently in school which should be expected. The respondents did describe some difficulties in staying in school and being on the program. Specifically, the need for some considerations that will reward successful pursuit of education were indicated. The level of education reported by the respondents supports the call for improvements for those pursuing education. This population has a significantly higher than normal non-completion rate for high school and college. The respondents also state that what they need more than anything is formal training in either a vocational-technical school or college. Thus, this population is interested in self improvement which is consistent with their value system described above.

The sample was asked about their decision to apply for benefits and the motivational factors that entered into that decision. First, they stated that they tried many of the traditional options of full time and part time employment and family assistance prior to applying. However, two-thirds of the respondents indicated that they had not sought assistance from the other parent. This brings out a very serious issue regarding the value of holding both parents responsible for children. This issue should be addressed in a rather vigorous fashion since the failure to uphold the value of equal responsibility bodes very poorly for the future. The motivational levels of the respondents was measured in terms of what prompted them to apply and how that would fit with the motivation of anyone. The overall result indicated a slightly lower than average motivation level but a positively-rooted one nonetheless. It should be expected that someone in the position of receiving public assistance would have had some strain put on their motivation. All in all, the population is one that is much like the rest of us that have had some tough times especially family break up. The prevalence of single-parent households is the driving force behind increased recipients.

Finally, the respondents were asked to describe what their lives would be like without AFDC and to offer suggestions for the improvement of the program. The descriptions of life without the program were generally that it would be a challenge and that they were mostly uncertain as to what they would have done. Many indicated that they would manage somehow, showing that they still believed in themselves to some extent. The suggested improvements were mostly related to allowing them some kind of

transition to the world of work. In other words, the respondents asked that they not be so immediately sanctioned for getting a job. They offered suggestions that centered on including a process that could formulate decreasing levels of assistance in various forms over a period of time. Generally, they want an opportunity to "get on their feet" prior to being cut off.

Many of the questions regarding the AFDC population posed by the Department and other interested parties relates to the desire to establish some predictors of long term dependency. While the data collected certainly offers some insights into the population as a whole it cannot be used to develop predictors with any reliability. The difficulty rests in the difference between sociological data and psychological data. Sociological data describes overall tendencies of the population studied but cannot provide information regarding the individuals within the population. For example, in this study there are two scales -- socially constructive and motivation. These scales have provided some revealing information on these two concepts. However, the scales are only meaningful in terms of overall averages. No individual set of responses provides sufficient data from which one may draw conclusions. In order to derive such predictor information, extensive testing of the individuals should be conducted using any of a number of tested psychological instruments.

The data in this study is also suited to developing some overall policy guidelines. Such guidelines can only be stated in terms of anticipated measures of success. The measures will describe goals or objectives relative to outcomes. Given the population

categories and measures of perceived conditions (e.g., evaluation of welfare offices), policy-makers may establish desired levels of improvement. In other words, as a performance measure, administration could establish that a successful outcome is that placement will receive a rating of 2.25 as opposed to the current rating of 1.8. Such strategies are an appropriate use of this data. Using the information for targeting population is not a reasonable approach, however. In order to accomplish a meaningful targeting process much more extensive research is required. Recommendations offered later in this report preclude the need for such a strategy.

The study to this point indicates that there is plenty of room for reform but, even more importantly, much to build upon. The typical Montana recipient holds the values that one finds in the general population. They would rather work than not work. They recognize that they need to improve their skills in order to survive. The challenge for policy makers now is to formulate a program that will draw upon these values and not deprive the children of a positive family experience. The remaining work in this study focuses on a specific examination of policy alternatives that may be drawn from what is learned in this study. Part II examines current policies and some of issues that should be addressed. The analysis will also discuss the nature of reform, reflecting on what is essential to its success. This will expand on many of the ideas asserted in Part I. Part III will build on this assessment and offer recommendations that suggest directions designed to ameliorate the challenges of welfare reform.

Part II: Program/Policy Analysis

Introduction. There have been many welfare reform proposals offered in the past years. These have varied from increasing benefits to elimination of the program altogether. The most sensible approach to suggesting reform is to:

1. review the program(s),
2. describe the current situation including challenges, barriers, and opportunities,
3. suggest appropriate goals of any reform effort.

This report follows these steps and offers some additional insight relevant to reform. Since the Governor's Welfare Reform Advisory Council has recently released a draft proposal for reform some comments will be included that have a direct bearing on those reform proposals. However, this set of recommendations does not seek to either replicate or counter the Council's proposal. Rather, this report is intended to both give some more background information regarding the present situation and how we got here and to offer implementation strategies that address the issues of how to get there from here. When attempting to initiate strategies that require a shift in underlying philosophy it is extremely vital to examine whether or not the organization(s) are designed in such a manner that success is likely.

Part II will focus on the current situation with respect to AFDC in Montana. This discussion will break out many of the larger issues that need our consideration in order to overcome many of the apparent obstacles to moving people to self-sufficiency. The discussion begins with a brief description of the history of AFDC with some of the more

important changes and dynamics that have brought it to its current form. Next, an overview of poverty in Montana will be offered. This is included because it is extremely important to place AFDC into the larger context of poverty. In fact, the conditions driving poverty are very closely related to those driving AFDC. Finally, a brief description of the calls for reform dating back to the 1970s is presented. The importance of this section is to remind us of the persistence of such calls for reform and recognize that there is little that is "new" in the reforms. What can become "new" are the administrative innovations that will facilitate successful reform. The remainder of Part II will focus on the issues that have been simmered out of the study as being of greatest importance, examining the current status and the challenges that are presented in these areas.

A. A Brief History of AFDC

The AFDC program was established as Title IV of the Social Security Act of 1935. That act included administrative and statutory requirements which the states had to fulfill in order to be eligible for federal matching funds in the public assistance programs of Old Age Assistance (OAA), Assistance to the Blind (AB), and Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). Two of the most important requirements were (1) participation had to be on a statewide basis, and (2) the operation of any of the specific programs had to be administered by a single state agency. By 1938, 39 states had adopted the AFDC program, which required that they comply with extensive federal regulations regarding eligibility and cost-matching. Montana enacted its enabling

legislation in 1937. AFDC has been the fastest growing public assistance program since the 1950s. In 1950, the program accounted for approximately 37 percent of all public assistance recipients. By 1960, AFDC represented 43 percent of all recipients of public assistance and by 1970, over 70 percent (Grønbjerg, 1977). By 1990, this had grown to over 80 percent. Thus, it has been the largest and fastest growing of all the public assistance programs in the last 40 years.

The AFDC program itself offers a rather effective gauge of poverty trends. This is mostly due to the fact that the fastest growing group under the poverty line is single parent families. Since the number of such families has increased rather significantly in the last twenty years one would also

anticipate that those drawing benefits under this program have also increased. Montana provides a good example of the growth of the program. As can be easily seen in Figure II.A, the number of recipients of benefits has doubled since 1978. The rate per thousand has also doubled so, as would be expected, the

increased number of recipients cannot be explained by a shift in the population. Since the program is designed primarily to help children the growth indicates that there are more families in need. The evidence is clear that poverty has increased in Montana and

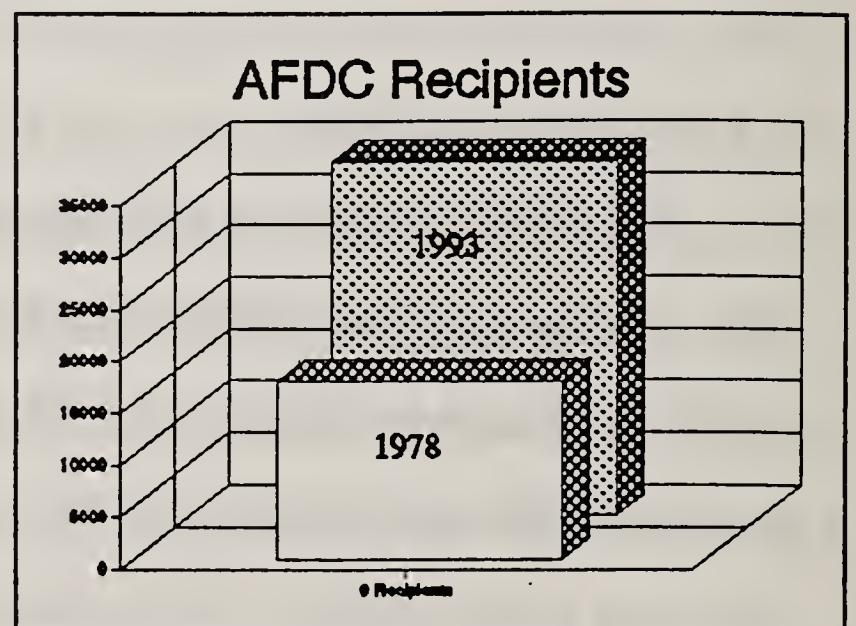


Figure II.A: U. S. Census Bureau, 1991

the most important demographic group that is being affected by that growth is children. These children are mostly found in single parent families.

B. Poverty in Montana

The larger issue that must be at least briefly covered in any discussion of AFDC is poverty. Any analysis of the program must assume that the most important contributor to the expanding participation in AFDC is poverty itself. Unless people are eligible by the fact of their income levels they cannot enter into the system. Even if one accepts the premise that the segment of the population that is driving growth in AFDC is the single parent family, they would not become recipients unless they were below the poverty level. The reality is that the single-parent household, especially female-headed, tends to be poorer than the general population. While there has been some growth in the unemployed parent families (those with two parents and persistent unemployment) as well, this growth has not been nearly as significant. When examining the unemployed parent families the issue usually is one of availability of jobs that pay sufficiently to support the family. Thus the following brief examination of poverty in Montana provides important information with respect to the issue of improving the condition of AFDC recipients.

Trends over the past twenty years are clear. The presence of poverty is on the rise. The number of people that are below the poverty line has grown especially fast in the fourteen-year period of 1978 - 1992. Figure II.B shows the profound rise of poverty in the state. No region in the state is escaping the growth of poverty. The important

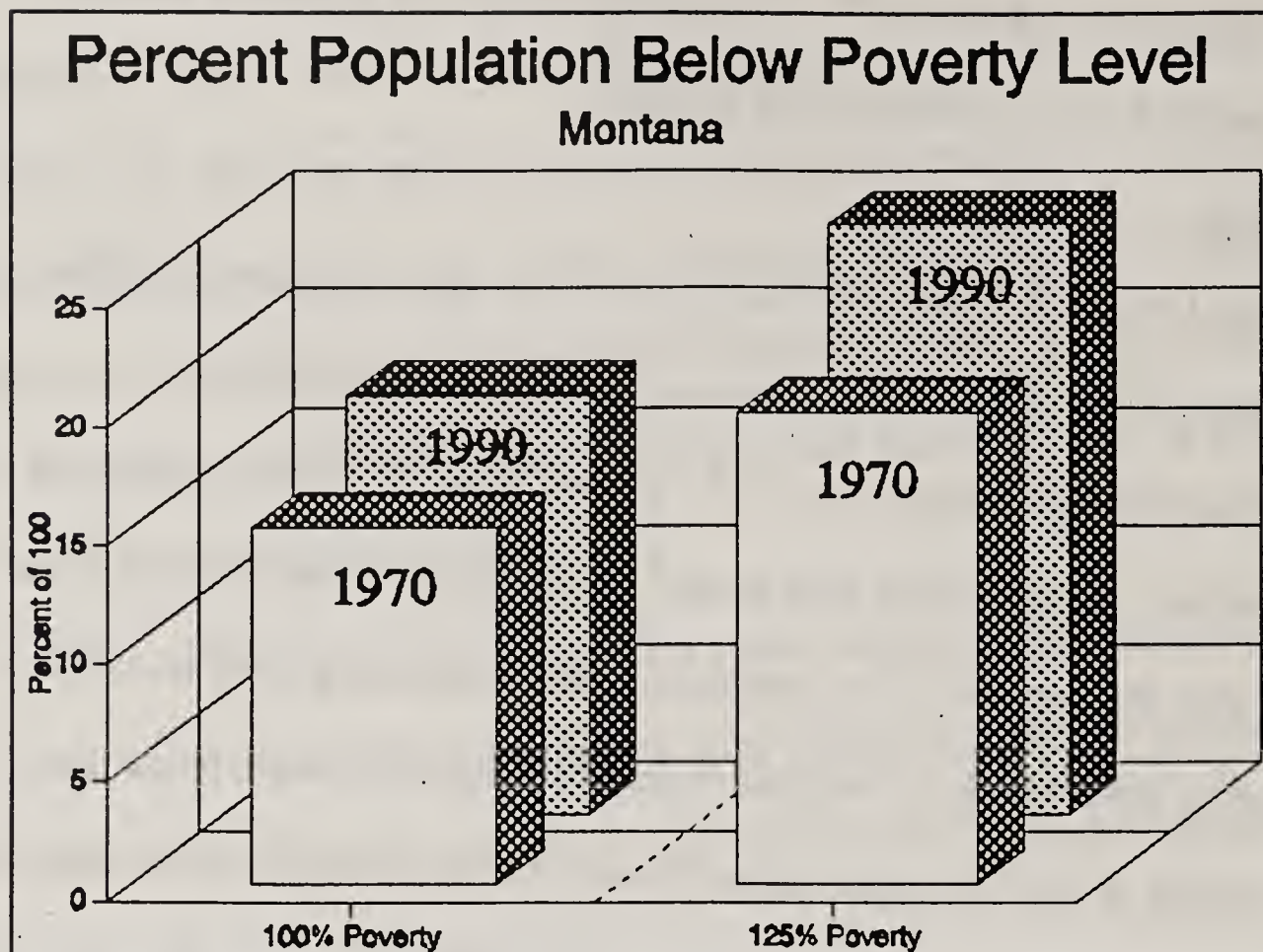


Figure II.B: U. S. Census Bureau, 1990

point here is that poverty has grown but the population of the state has not. This suggests that either poor people are moving in or those that stay are becoming poorer.

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the latter is true especially, the fact that the population of Montana has only grown slightly. Whatever growth has been experienced since 1980 has taken place in the last three years. (U.S. Census Bureau, 1994)

Most, if not all, of Montana's resource-based industries suffered declines in the 1980s. This accounts for part of the increasing number of those below the poverty line. The displaced workers from those industries generally experienced significant loss of income. Former oil, mining, and timber workers have either left the state or taken lower paying jobs. The continued shift from manufacturing to service industries (according to the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Montana) also accounts

for the increasing number below the poverty line. In other words, the bulk of these people are what are commonly referred to as "the working poor."

Another critically important driving force behind increasing numbers of people

below the poverty line is the

rise of single-parent families,

especially those headed by

females. Figure II.C

demonstrates this most clearly.

Of all the categories, female

householders with children

under 5 years old has the

highest poverty rate. There are

actually more single parent

families under poverty than there were total single parent families in 1970. The high divorce rate as well as the unmarried fertility rates play a significant role in the large numbers of female householder families in poverty. The number of teen pregnancies has contributed to the growth as well. However, evidence suggests that the teen pregnancy rates have remained relatively constant in the past 11 years at about 10 percent of all births. The difference is found in the percentage of those pregnancies that are with unmarried teens. The proportion of those married to those unmarried has declined sharply in the last twelve years (by nearly half).

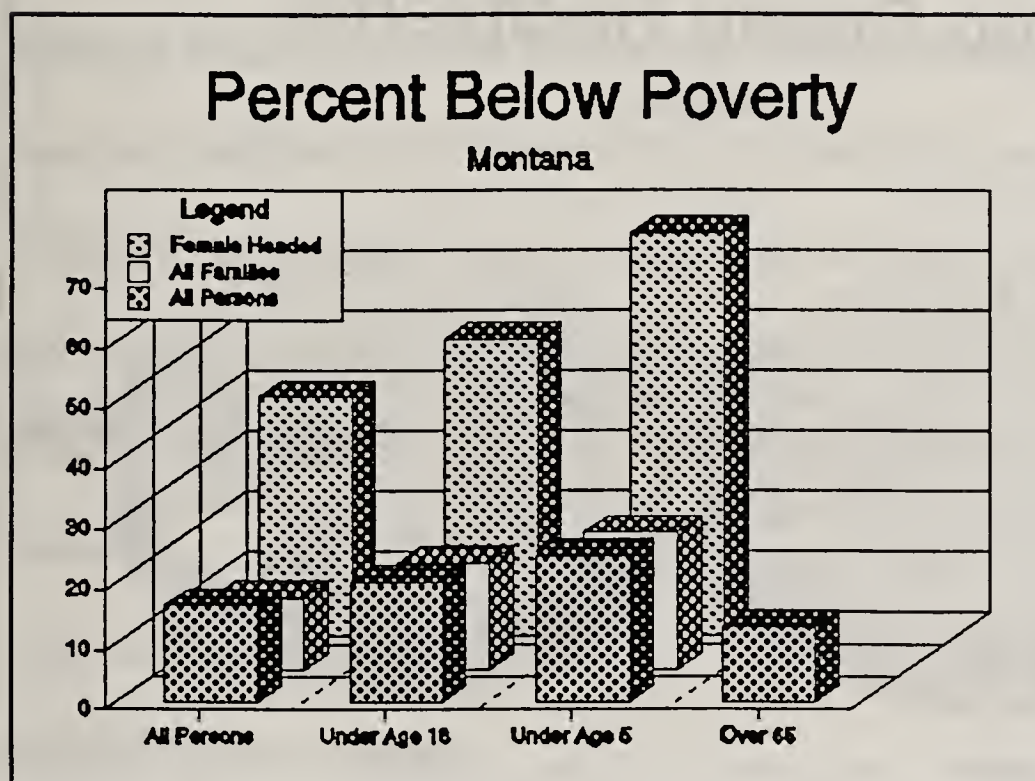


Figure II.C: Based on 1990 Census

The increased occurrence of poverty in families, especially single-parent families, is most directly felt in the demand for assistance from the public sector. Nevertheless, the actual

demand for food stamps has not increased at the same rate as the increase in the number of people eligible (or those at 125% of poverty). Figure II.D shows the

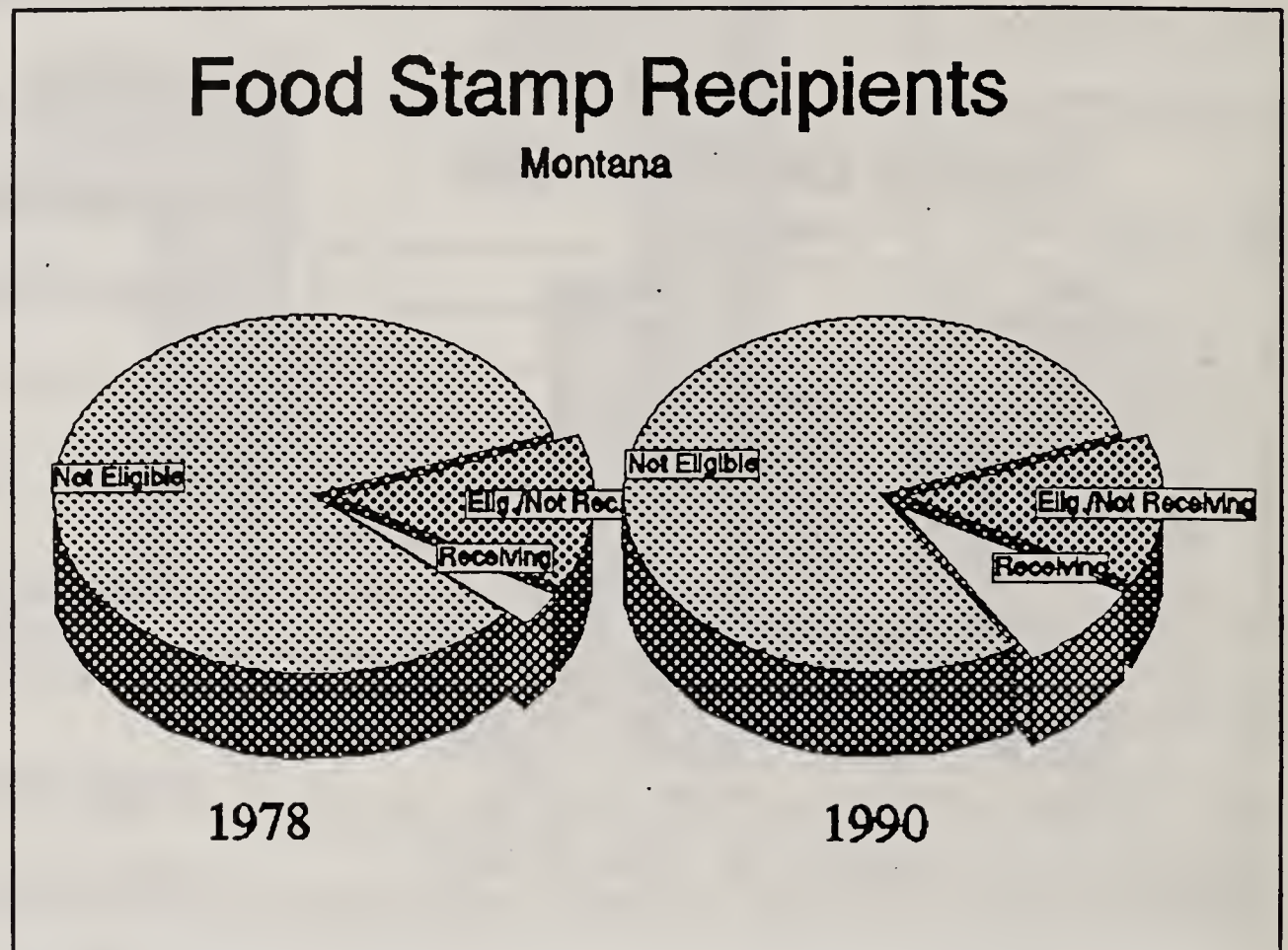


Figure II.D: Among Those for Whom Poverty Status was Determined

comparison of the years 1978 and 1990. The number of people that are actually eligible that are not receiving food stamps remained fairly constant even though the actual number of those receiving has gone up during the same period. Therefore, even though there are many more people that are eligible, the rate of increase of use has not kept pace. This is an interesting irony in the state of Montana since the other beneficiaries of food stamp usage are those in the agriculture industry -- Montana's largest. The stigma of using food stamps apparently still holds sway in many parts of the state.

Employment, education, and income. The employment picture in Montana has shown a shift on several fronts. First, the forms of employment have shifted from natural resource industries and manufacturing to service areas. Figure II.E shows the shifting sources of labor income in the state. The most prominent shift in source of income clearly is found in the area of services. These service jobs are mostly found in the health care and business service areas. Even in the area of retail trade, the jobs are actually shifting from the higher paying areas of automobile and general merchandise to eating and drinking establishments. Unless prevailing wages in these areas of services and restaurants shift this means that the largest job growth areas in Montana are those in low-paying sectors. This will only continue to add to the problem of the "working poor."

This becomes even more stark when one considers that the figure is in constant dollars. Since the wages for mining and manufacturing jobs have clearly stayed ahead of inflation, the actual number of jobs in these areas has declined while the number of jobs in

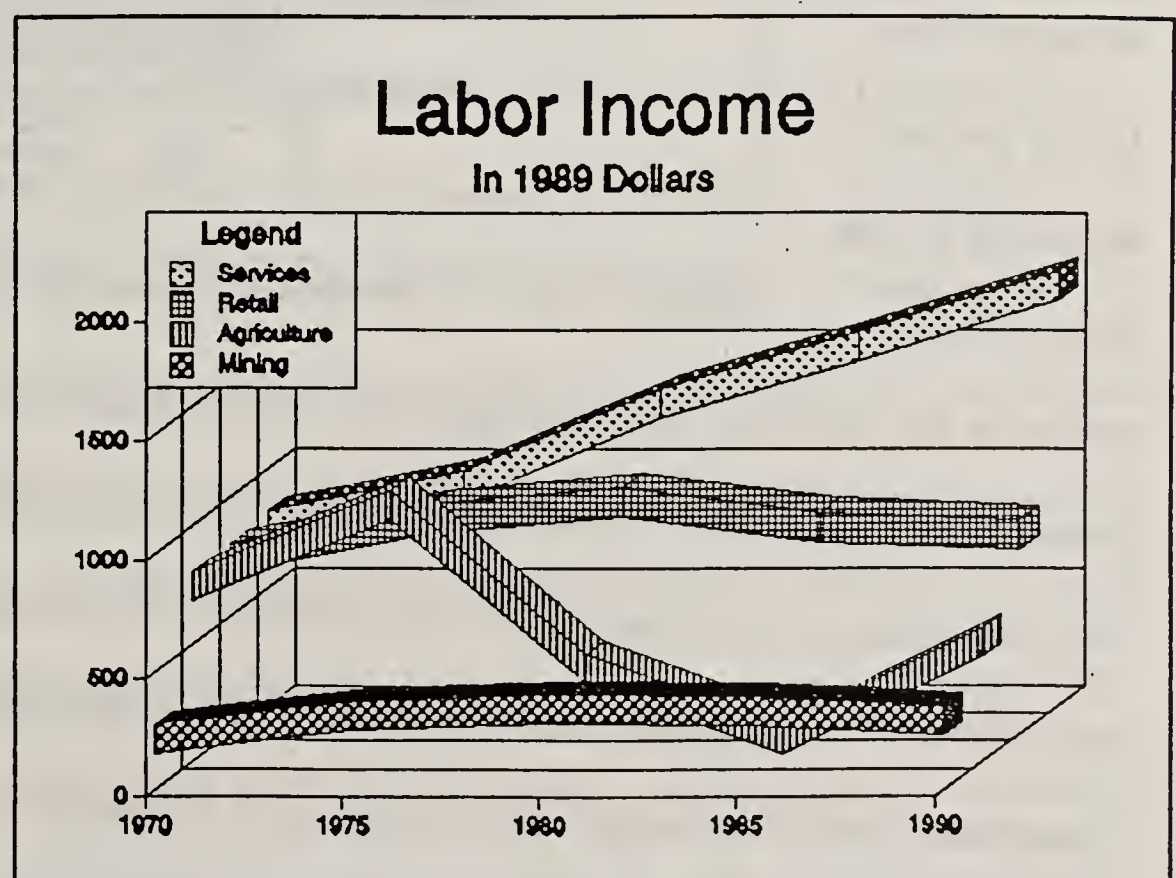


Figure II.E: In Constant 1989 Dollars

the service and retail sectors have grown even more than shown since the wages in these areas have actually fallen behind rates of inflation. When an analysis of sources of income focuses on separating retirement and public assistance from the pool, it can be surmised that Montanans are falling behind within the work place.

Figure II.F shows that the sources of income that are falling off the most are in the areas of self employment both farm and other. This is partially explained by the drop in farm

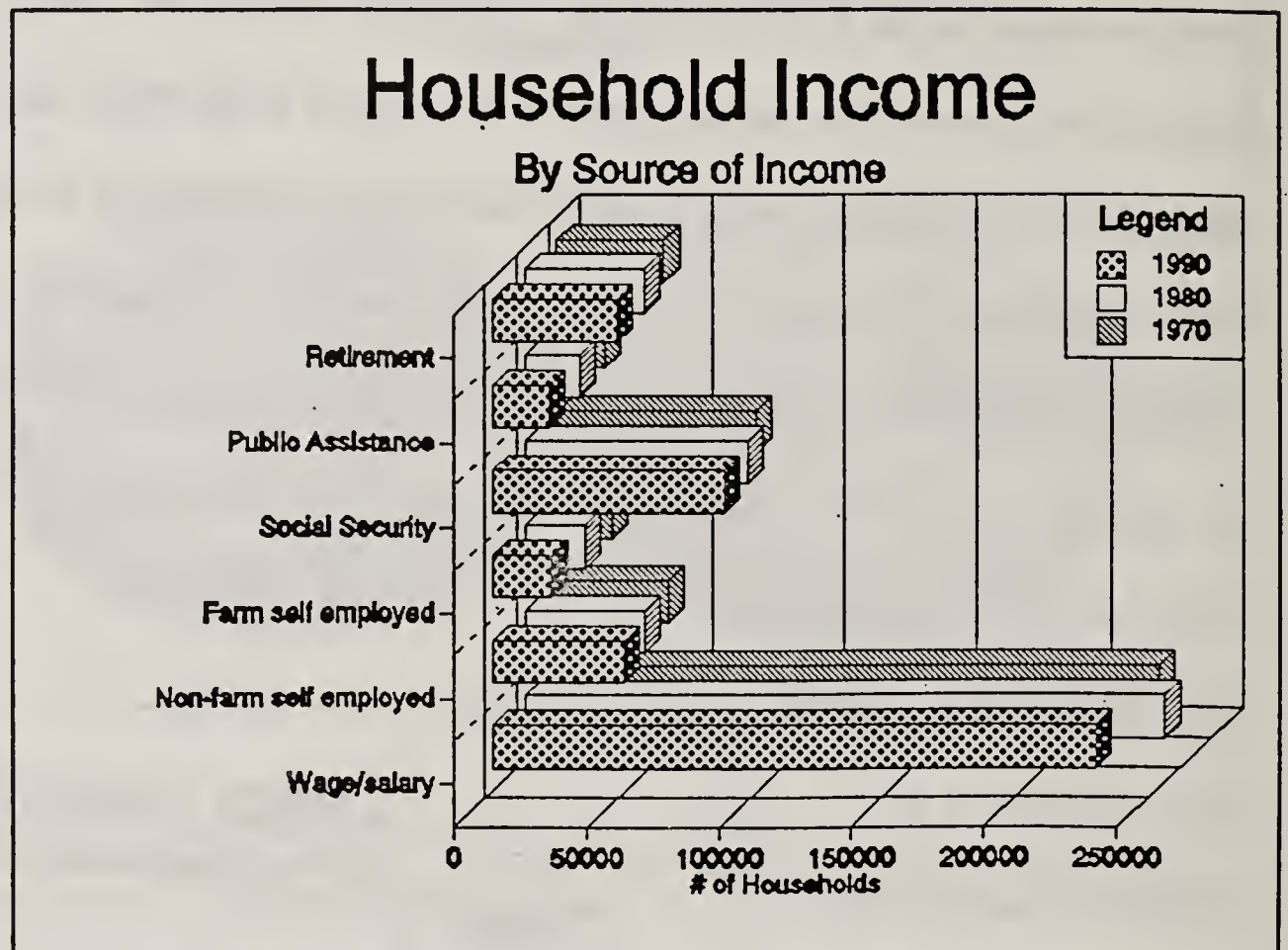


Figure II.F: Based on the 1990 Census

profits in the 1980s but the 1990 figures reflect the situation after the more productive years of 1989 and 1990. The other areas of self employment are not faring much better. The main industry that affects other self employment is related to the tourist industry, seen by many as the largest area of growth in retail employment. It is important to understand that "job creation" is not necessarily a route to reducing dependence on public assistance. The quality of jobs will have a great deal of bearing on the success of

such efforts. The next decade will likely indicate whether or not these areas of employment will continue to be low-paying and whether or not the economy of Montana can sustain itself with these kinds of employment.

Another determinant of employment opportunity and quality of life is education level.

If Montanans are being educated sufficiently, their likelihood of being able to sustain themselves and the economy in general improves.

The quality of that education is

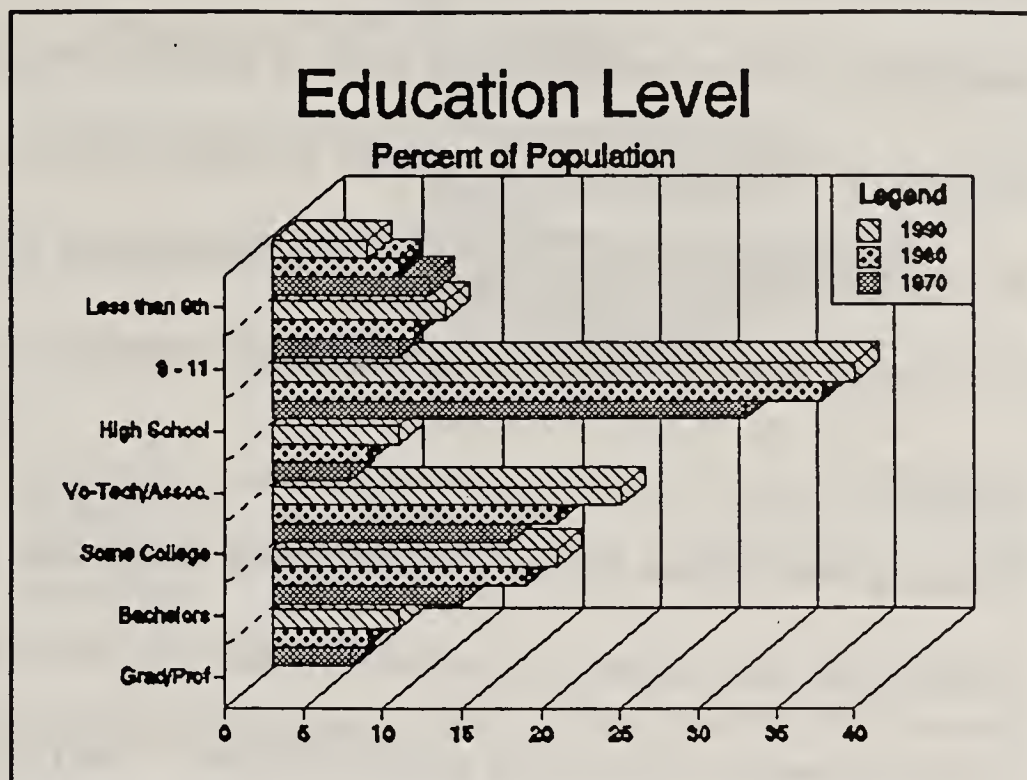


Figure II.G: Based on Census Sample

another matter which is elusive to quantitative measurement. Figure II.G shows the trends in educational level in Montana based on current census data. The ability to provide at least a basic education to the citizens of the state is but a minimum expectation. The more important considerations relate to the relevance of the education, the quality of the programs, and the capacity to alter the overall structure of education to accommodate the largest number of individuals. Also of concern relevant to poverty is whether or not educational opportunities will be available to poorer Montanans. If current trends regarding tuition in the state and the nation continue then the availability of higher education to poorer citizens is definitely in question. The strain being placed

on states' budgets to support higher education is clearly increasing. This will only serve to extend the presence of poverty to future generations, especially within the sector that is already poor. Another interesting observation is whether or not the reduced availability will extend to middle income families, increasing the probability that their children will be unable to experience the same quality of life. The demand for education at levels beyond K-12 is clearly growing in the state and the nation. The question is whether or not resources can be maintained that will be able to satisfy the higher demand.

Housing and Health Care. The remaining issues that measure the condition of Montanans with respect to welfare are those of housing and health care. Access is primarily measured in terms of affordability. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has defined "affordable" to mean rent or mortgages within 30 percent of a family's gross income. Figure II.H shows the number of people experiencing housing access problems. It is clear from Figure II.H that a significant number of people are having difficulty paying for shelter. This difficulty is not so much a matter of any shifts in the housing stock, although the number of vacancies remains rather tight.

Questions center around whether or not fewer people are gaining access to suitable housing. Particularly ominous as far as availability of actual units is concerned are the rising costs of housing itself. What is much more significant is the number of people reporting that they are paying 30-50 percent of their income on housing. Equally disturbing is the number of people reporting that they actually pay greater than 50

percent of their income just to put a roof over their heads.

The waiting lists for Section 8 assistance in the most recent Montana Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS) paints a picture of a very large number of Montana's poor facing serious challenges seeking and finding affordable

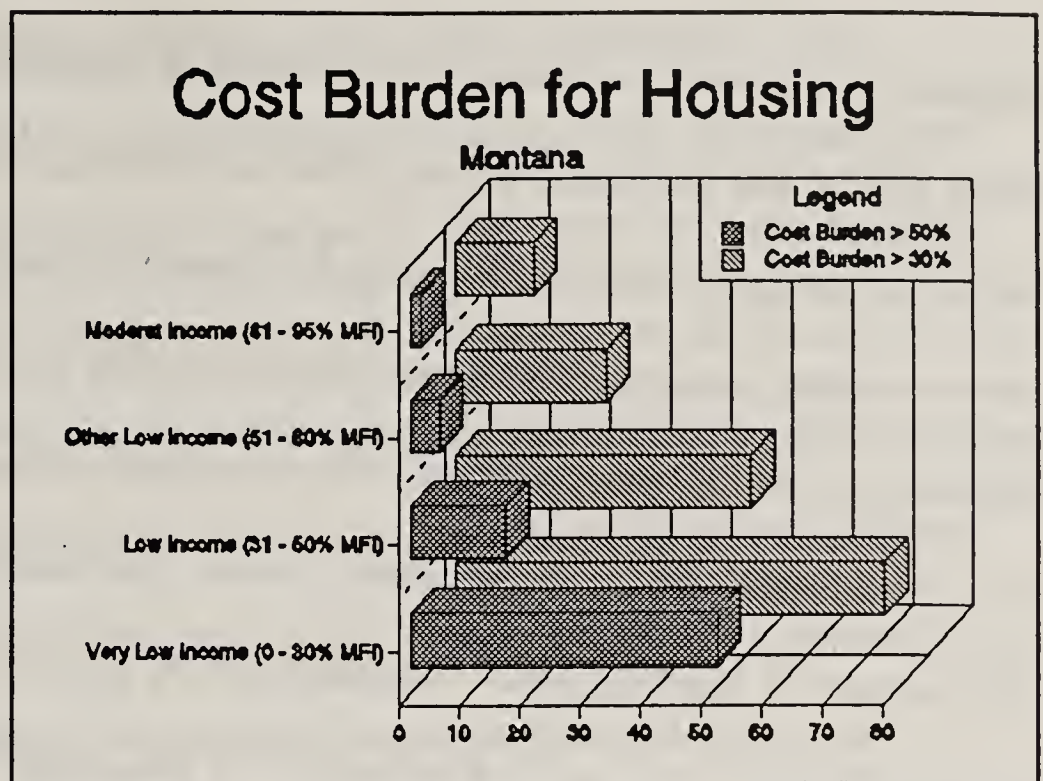


Figure II.H: From the 1993 Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy for Montana

shelter. Generally speaking, the problem in the western part of the state is that housing costs are climbing at such a rate that decent housing is out of reach for low to moderate income families. In the eastern part of the state, on the other hand, the inability to secure sufficient rent or purchasing funds has made maintenance impractical. Therefore, the housing is in poor condition. In any event the ability to secure suitable housing is diminishing in the state of Montana.

As with most of the country, access to health care in Montana is becoming more and more difficult. There are approximately 140,000 uninsured individuals in the state which is around 18 percent of the population. These individuals are mostly the low to moderate income individuals. The very low income people are usually eligible for Medicaid so their numbers in this case are less threatened than those that are employed.

Summary. The status of poverty in the state of Montana is clearly one that is worsening. More people fall below the poverty level in 1993 than did in 1970 or 1980. The main demographic group that is absorbing this growth in poverty is the state's children. The more common occurrence of single parent families in the state is a large part of the explanation for this phenomenon. The prevalence of poverty in today's children stands as a considerable threat to the state's future. The second trend of great significance is the number of "working poor" that continues to grow with little likelihood of reversal in the near future. This has had its impact on education, housing, and health care. All those involved in programs for the poor must face the fact that this group of "working poor" presents the greater challenge than those unable or unwilling to get employment.

C. Calls for Reform

As a result of its tremendous growth mentioned earlier, AFDC has also been a program that has drawn considerable controversy. As noted by Furniss and Tilton:

... Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is the most controversial [program]; when analysts speak of a "welfare crisis," their complaints focus on AFDC. AFDC formed part of the original Social Security Act of 1935, but significantly it has come to be known as "welfare" with all the negative connotations that word carried in the United States rather than "social security," a term with favorable overtones. (Furniss and Tilton, 1977)

From the beginning, there have been detractors of this program. In the 1970s, there was mounting criticism of the AFDC program as being a disincentive to work for two-parent families that were receiving benefits. The critics focused on their belief that such individuals were unwilling to take responsibility for their own children's well-being. By

the late 1970s the program was being criticized for not having a direction. The administrative structure was viewed as a burgeoning bureaucracy that was drawing off more and more of the nation's resources. (Furniss and Tilton, 1977) In 1980, Ronald Reagan gained considerable positive support by promoting "workfare" programs. Concerns about welfare dependency, coupled with a general distrust of the public welfare system led to some policy innovations in the 1980s. Most states require that recipients actively look for employment. States adopting workfare requirements went beyond this mandate. They require that recipients who cannot find employment take jobs in government or nonprofit agencies, while other states (Montana included) require certain individuals to enroll in employment training programs. (Levitan, 1990) The calls for welfare reform have been persistent in that they typically call for some formulation that will eliminate "welfare fraud" (which is a label applied to everything from actually filing fraudulent claims to deliberately worsening one's situation in order to qualify for benefits) and move more recipients to a condition of self-sufficiency. The most recent wave of reform calls are for programs that will return the responsibility to the recipients and be certain that the program does not promote life-long dependency.

Governor Racicot (R-MT) issued Executive Order Number 12-93, on July 23, 1993, which is an extension of the most recent call for reform. In the Order the Governor created the Welfare Reform Advisory Council which was instructed to develop proposals that would improve the performance of federal welfare programs in Montana.

The Council has developed a set of proposals to meet the expectations of the Governor, as described in the introduction to their report:

. . . Montanans have come to realize that overhaul of the State's welfare system is long-overdue. We need to both "end welfare as we know it" and put in its place a program that promotes participant self-sufficiency and responsibility by strengthening supports and incentives for family stability, gainful employment, and productive community service. (Governor's Welfare Reform Advisory Council, 1993)

The language used to describe the mandate of the Council is consistent with the national calls for reform, originated by the White House. The nearly universal recognition that reform is needed suggests that the system has indeed become a source of considerable consternation. The concerns are actually shared by the recipients, as described in Part I. Bearing this in mind, the following discussion develops some overriding themes that have been put forth by all parties concerned as issues that must be addressed.

D. Issues of Reform

The most reasonable manner to review the current situation is to break out the various issues and examine their relationship to the overall problems. After a rather short discussion of each, a fairly comprehensive picture of the conditions to be dealt with should emerge. The issues selected are those that have presented themselves most apparently. There may very well be other issues that could be included in the discussion. However, there is no avoiding a process of selecting only some. Hopefully, by basing analysis on those selected other problem areas will be addressed as well. Realistically,

one must expect that any reforms will only be able to address parts of the problem and not resolve the issue of poverty, which is the real issue.

Education. As so aptly noted by the respondents to the survey, education is a key to movement to self-sufficiency. The Advisory Council has also noted the importance of this aspect of the situation. It should be clear to most that education will go far in giving people the opportunity to take control of their own lives. However, we must resist the temptation of engaging in over use of such platitudes. Education, in and of itself, is not going to solve the problem. Nevertheless, the need to provide a level of skills essential to moving out of poverty is paramount. The question here is really a matter of opportunity to be educated rather than whether or not education has any value in the process of problem solving. Of course, it is extremely important to remember that education (even if it is referred to as "training") is not a passive process. The client must participate in the process and must do so in a sincere manner in order to have any impact.

Education may take many forms, as already suggested in the survey results. Beneficiaries may be placed in formal educational programs such as high school or college. They may also be placed in more customized programs such as job search or self esteem programs. In any of these instances, the outcome of the program is going to be only as good as the capacity of the individual to benefit. This capacity may be a matter of commitment to success or simply the belief that the program will make a difference for them. One could argue that tying benefits to participation in the program

will provide enough incentive for the participant to be committed to its success.

However, this is contrary to most of the literature on motivation. Researchers from Herzberg to Lawler have contended that taking such an approach to motivating is rarely successful. Essentially, what is being employed here to get people to participate is what Herzberg refers to as a "KITA" (Kick in the Ass). This approach only prompts one to remove the source of the discomfort or threat (Herzberg, 1968). Thus, the only thing that the client is actually motivated to do is to get by this obstacle to continued payment.

Based on the results of the survey, the indications are that the clients want a program that is going to allow them to get a job. The task of any implementation of educational programs is to convince them that this will be the end point. Remember, that the clientele are not particularly convinced that the result of the organized education programs will be improved chances at getting a job. Any reform must overcome this perception. The only way to accomplish this is to improve the job placement performance. Education itself does not place people in jobs. It merely gives them the skills that they may present to the job market.

A rather important concern relates to the demand for formal education. Historically, Americans have granted themselves the right and the responsibility to get a high school education. Unfortunately, the same attitude has not been developed for education beyond a high school diploma. The perception is that one must somehow "earn" the privilege of moving on to postsecondary education. This includes college and vocational-technical programs. The newer realities are that unless one gets a

postsecondary education they are unlikely to gain employment that will lift them above the poverty level (Theobald, 1993). Therefore, any reform proposal must address the question of whether or not it is appropriate to provide the means for a formal education.

Another argument may be made that it has become more and more unlikely that those in moderate income levels will be able to get such an opportunity. Consequently, any policy that makes higher education available to the poor is inherently unfair. This is an area that it would appear will become more and more problematic as time goes on since the costs of higher education continue to escalate ahead of inflation. An argument that counters this concern is that any education provided for anyone benefits society at large. Therefore, it does not matter whether or not the receipt of such benefits is unfair. The evidence suggests that the latter argument carries a great deal of weight. The most successful social program in U. S. history, according to numerous studies, is the G. I. Bill. Most estimates are that the United States netted a 200 percent gain if one just considers increased tax payments. (GAO, 1983). This does not even account for the social benefit of having more people informed and capable of contributing to problem resolution rather than problem creation. It would seem then that any reform effort will be justified in providing improved opportunity for education of AFDC recipients.

Child Care. Another reality of life in the 1990s is that more people are demanding child care services. This is a result of the continued movement toward dual-income families as well as the increased presence of single-parent families. Without delving into the social consequences of institutionalized child rearing, this is another area

that requires attention. In many instances, with the addition of child care expenses, the net amount received after taking a job is less rather than more. After taking taxes, an additional vehicle, more expensive food purchases, and the need for leisure expenses on weekends and vacations, along with child care, many dual-income families have found that they would be better off without one of the jobs outside the home.(Theobald, 1993). This gives some indication of the challenge being faced by single-parent families.

Child care expenses go well beyond just a need to pay for someone to watch the children. There are the "hidden" costs of having to purchase specific travelling accessories for the child, such as diaper bags and additional clothes. There are the expenses of transporting the child to the center and back. Then there are the opportunity costs of locating new child care services when one is no longer available. Providers of child care tend to experience high turnover or those that do it in their homes get "burned out" easily. All of these factors, plus the need to stay home if a child is sick, make it difficult for single parents to improve their economic condition. Furthermore, these barriers hinder the job entry process itself. Employers that hire someone in higher-paying professional positions may not be as willing to be flexible as those in lower paying occupations.

All of these concerns come into play when considering designs for providing child care. These issues do not even bring into consideration the social or emotional drawbacks of having someone other than the parents raise children. Any program that provides for child care assistance must be able to take into consideration the "hidden"

expenses and be able to balance the priority of parenting with employment outside the home. Actually, of all the needs this one is the most problematic. As a society, we have yet to learn of the consequences of institutionalized child care. A more reasonable approach to child care is to develop a cooperative system wherein the parents may actually provide the child care for one another. The cooperative may also incorporate job-sharing schemes and other cottage industries into the scenario. It is these kinds of comprehensive approaches that appear to offer the best prospects for long term success.

Health Care. A concern expressed frequently by respondents to the survey and by the Advisory Council is with regard to health care. Since health care costs are escalating so rapidly, many families are fearful that should they not have insurance adequate to cover nearly all the medical expenses, they are at risk of being wiped out financially. The families that are most at risk are the "working poor" - those in low-paying jobs. Unless AFDC clients are lifted beyond the entry level occupations, they will be placed directly into the class at highest risk. Thus, much of the fear expressed by respondents is well founded. It is the people that qualify for AFDC and Medicaid and the upper middle/upper class that are in the best shape with respect to health care. Middle class families are constantly at risk of losing coverage or being denied coverage as well as paying high deductibles and co-payments. The only reasonable reform in this area is one that provides universal coverage. Thus, families that are trying to move toward self-sufficiency would not face the prospect of being immediately placed into the highest risk group. In the meantime, access to health care needs to be extended to those that are at

133 percent of poverty. Transition from coverage to self-sufficiency should also be developed. Those that exceed income limits should be given the opportunity to "purchase" partial coverage.

Employment. In the most simplistic terms, the majority of the respondents stated that what was needed for them to get off AFDC is a decent-paying job. The first question that comes to mind is what we mean by "decent-paying". One would have to assume that the pay would have to be sufficient to offset the loss of AFDC. This means the **net amount** must be sufficient. As noted above, when one adds up all of the expenses of going to work, this is no small matter. It is clear that minimum wage jobs are not satisfactory. One might challenge this notion by arguing that none of us are guaranteed anything. However, the reality is that we as a society elected to provide a "safety net" some time ago. We could rescind that decision and insist that these families stand on their own. However, there is plenty of evidence that suggests that to do so would cost more in the long run. It is also pertinent to recognize that the current calls for reform emphasize moving families to self-sufficiency. Thus, the decision has already been made to move people to a condition where they can survive.

The challenge then is to develop a system that will place clients into good jobs. There needs to be an understanding that these jobs should be relatively secure and present opportunity for growth. No one is suggesting that any of these people are "owed" a good job. They are going to have to learn how to merit such opportunity. As shown in the survey, this is not as much of a problem as one might imagine. The respondents

indicate that they would much rather earn their keep. What is needed is a way to develop better self esteem among the clients. The evidence is rather clear on the need for AFDC recipients to improve their self image. This is no easy task since society in general attaches value to people based on how much they make and what they have. If we are sincere in our efforts to move these people to self-sufficiency then we must also be willing to combat this perception. The best place to work on this is in the welfare offices themselves. This also needs to be incorporated into the employment training programs as it already is but with the added feature of support networks after the training is over.

Another consideration involved is with regard to the linkage between the various programs - training, education, or personal growth - and the employment sector itself. Since it is clear that the relationship between these programs and gaining viable employment is rather weak some concerted effort must take place. In addition, the need to use resources more efficiently requires that placement be much more successful as a result of training programs. Currently, programs are designed to provide certain skills based on the expectations of the administrators of the program and on the perceived needs of the client. The problem rests in the fact that there is no linkage between current needs of employers and training provided. Such linkage is best accomplished by integrating the administration of the programs with the primary employers in an area. Examples abound that may be drawn upon to demonstrate how such a program can

improve placement. This is an issue that must be addressed in any efforts to improve job training programs.

Resource Enhancement. One of the more frequent concerns expressed by the clients is that the system presently is too quick to penalize them for any gains that they may make. If one manages to be entrepreneurial and earn some money by selling crafts, for example, they are immediately required to report this and have that amount deducted from their benefits. They also mentioned several times that the present arrangement is quick to cut them off if they do get a job. Another area of concern is that they are not allowed to develop any resources at all. If they happen to get a vehicle that is shown to be worth more than a certain amount (\$1,500) then it is immediately used as a deduction from their benefits. All of these practices only succeed in encouraging deception or deprivation. The other consequence is that they discourage saving and creativity. The Advisory Council has noted this concern in their suggestion that the income disregard policies need revision. Actually, what is needed are approaches that will encourage innovation and reward thriftiness. Such measures should also include a mechanism that will enable clients to accrue some savings, even through a cooperative similar to a credit union.

Bureaucratization. An area of challenge that has been repeated by respondents, the Advisory Council, the governor, and just about every American citizen is the problem of the bureaucracy. Recently, it seems that every difficulty that we have now or ever had is attributable to the bureaucracy. The problems in AFDC are certainly no exception.

These problems are described in terms of the immense number of forms and "red tape" involved in applying for and receiving AFDC assistance. The critics charge that the bureaucracy stands as a barrier to reasonable solutions. The interesting aspect of this is that "the bureaucracy" seems to be this huge, faceless monolith that consciously or unconsciously interferes with every aspect of our lives. Any reform efforts need to untangle myth from reality with respect to bureaucracy and embark on efforts that will correctly address the problems caused by this organizational form.

The first recognition must be that bureaucracy is just that, and organizational form. It is not the same as "large" and it is not a synonym for any kind of public administration. A bureaucracy is an intentional way of designing an organization that was generally formulated during the Industrial era. We have used the term to refer to other administrative practices in earlier eras and recent organizations incorrectly. A bureaucracy is a rational organization that emphasizes "fixed and official jurisdictions" as so clearly defined by Max Weber. This approach was viewed as the most sensible way of solving society's problems during the height of the Industrial era. It employs the belief that there are cause-effect relationships and they are discoverable. Such a belief is at the very core of rationality which is the root of bureaucracy, as hard as that may be to believe. Therefore, the organizations divide tasks into specialties and utilize hierarchical structure to maintain control in order to treat the individual cause-effect relationships.

The second recognition must be that bureaucracy is not inherently evil. Bureaucracy, as an organizational form, has been largely responsible for many of the

"successes" in American history. It was largely responsible for the victory of World War II. It contributed to the incredible period of economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. It is merely a means to certain kinds of ends. If all of the principles of bureaucracy are honored, it is a very efficient and controlled system of task accomplishment. It was vastly better than the arbitrary approaches to administration carried out in the 19th Century. By focusing on procedures and rules rather than the power of individuals, bureaucracy was able to move government and industry forward. The real problem lies in the fact that bureaucracy is no longer necessary in order to control organizations.

Bureaucracies are intentionally designed to enforce rules and procedures first. The structure is supposed to maintain itself and to be certain that it does so it must deal in positions not people. This may sound a bit callous and harsh but the value of a rational system is that it is reasonably predictable. In order to accomplish this goal it is necessary to base everything on rationality. As soon as people are added to the picture, rationality goes out. So in order to avoid such an outcome every attempt is made to remove people from the dynamics. Consequently, in order to preserve positions, rules are created so that no matter who is in the position the same rules will be the governing force. Therefore, it is no accident that the administration of AFDC is based on rule enforcement rather than problem solving. In order to be problem solvers, the administrators must be able to face each problem uniquely since that is the nature of problems. Such allowance would be antithetical to the principles of bureaucracy.

It should be clear then that any reform that truly is designed to move people to self-sufficiency (solve the problem) must "de-bureaucratize". What is meant here is that there must be a willingness to move away from controlling the process and toward requiring only outcomes, no matter how they are reached. There must be a willingness to allow considerable risk-taking within the agency (no matter what agency is administering the program.) This is no simple matter as may be claimed by various proponents of reform. Bureaucracy is the organizational form that we have become most familiar with in the Twentieth Century. In order to move away from this form we will need to teach the administrators, the clients, and the public new behaviors. This runs counter to the trend of risk aversion in our society. Legislators must be willing to grant considerable discretion to the agencies; the governor must allow certain failures to take place; agency directors must be willing to grant considerable flexibility to the case managers; and the general public must be comfortable with the fact that some people will get away with fraud, at least initially.

The solution does not necessarily lie in privatization. Merely changing the focus of the organization does not bring about solutions. Private organizations, especially those engaged in the provision of social services, may still rely on bureaucratic principles of rule enforcement and jurisdictions. Compounding this is that the rules and procedures can easily drift toward the process of "creaming" where the cases most amenable to resolution are the ones chosen for services. The private agency, whether or not it is classified as a for-profit organization, is motivated to preserve itself by increasing the

resources it has available. In other words, whether the money is being used as profit or as increasing pay for employees, it is still not being directed at problem-solving. The vast majority of these organizations still operate under bureaucratic premises - especially when it comes to enforcing sets of rules on clients. Thus, the challenge of de-bureaucratization remains even in cases where privatization has been used as a strategy. Movement to outcome-based strategies is the desired end no matter what kind of organization carries it out.

Summary and Conclusion

Part II of this report has focused on further definition of the situation of the AFDC population by examining the general conditions for recipients in the state of Montana. A brief review of the history of AFDC in the nation and in the state demonstrated that the program has been the fastest growing of all public assistance programs. It has also been the most controversial because of the growing numbers and because the population has not been viewed as particularly deserving from time to time. **Attention was then directed at poverty in the state of Montana in general as the primary predictor of participation in the AFDC program.** The condition of poverty in the state was shown to be increasing and the factors that contribute to its expansion such as shifts in employment, were shown to be persistent. This suggests that the underlying problem of poverty will continue in the future and must be a consideration for policy reform efforts.

The remainder of Part II analyzed the issues that need to be addressed in order to develop any meaningful reforms of the AFDC program. The main intent of this section is to clarify the factors that come into play with any movement of the clientele toward self-sufficiency. Education is a crucial area of need in any efforts to improve the AFDC clients' situation. The issues related to education are how any efforts may stimulate an active response by the clients and whether or not it is reasonable to grant any kind of privilege regarding education to this population. Generally, the conclusion was that education can be made more meaningful if the recipients are shown that it is through such measures that their lives will be improved. It is also suggested that education provided for any segment of the population benefits the entire society.

The issues of child care and health care bring with them the questions of quality of life and empowering individuals to be a part of the work force. The demand of child care is increasing in the entire population and the costs surrounding this service are sometimes hidden. The question of whether or not institutionalized child care brings with it undesired outcomes in the long run is one that should be addressed in any future efforts. Further, the means through which child care is provided should be assessed, perhaps being directed more at cooperative efforts. The health care challenge is one that is particularly problematic for this population. The reality is that the group most vulnerable to the harmful consequences of health care costs is the population that lies just above the poverty level. Thus, the movement of this population into self-sufficiency

necessarily moves them right into the area of greatest danger unless accommodations are made. The most reasonable solution rests in comprehensive health care reform.

The discussion around employment programs for the AFDC population emphasized the need for placement into decent-paying jobs. This need is typically underestimated in reform efforts. The acquisition of a job is not a solution in itself. In many of the cases accepting a low-paying job only worsens the condition of the recipient rather than improves it. The problems rest in the fact that most entry level jobs are minimum wage with no benefits. If the individual must incur the costs of survival, including child care, health care, and the additional expenses of working outside the home, the net amount of benefit is far less than if they remain on the program. The types of jobs needed are those that pay well above minimum wage. The other factor that comes into play is the need to elevate the self esteem of these individuals prior to and even after they enter or re-enter the work force. Unless these self esteem issues are addressed it is unlikely that they will particularly effective employees or that they will allow themselves personal growth.

Finally, the more institutional issues were discussed. The need to "de-bureaucratize" was shown as much more complex and more urgent than perhaps has been acknowledged to date. The myths surrounding bureaucracy need to be dispelled and the truth must be the basis of any reforms. Bureaucracy is an organizational form that evolved fully during the Industrial era. It requires rule enforcement and standard operating procedures in order to function. Bureaucracy's most important purposes are to

displace human weaknesses with rationality and to preserve itself and not the accomplishment of outcomes. Thus, any efforts that have as a goal to move clients toward self-sufficiency (which is an outcome) will have to be accomplished within a non-bureaucratic environment. This will require the acceptance of risk-taking and the potential for error. Privatizing is not necessarily the answer unless the same willingness to allow risk-taking and entrepreneurial activities is exhibited. In order to overcome the immense problem of dependency in the AFDC population, the leadership must be willing to sacrifice some control over the process. The recommendations offered in Part III are premised on the issues described here. These recommendations are more in the form of guidelines for implementation rather than specific practices.

Part III: Policy Recommendations

Part III offers specific recommendations based on the results of the study and the discussion that followed in Part II. These recommendations are from the perspective of movement toward policy success -- assuming the policy centers on moving individuals from public assistance to self-sufficiency. Within each of these recommendations alternatives are presented. These are included for the purposes of initiating the dialogue and clarifying some of the choices involved. These recommendations should be viewed as a "kicking off" point and not an end in themselves. Since the policy alternatives have been selected for the most part by the Advisory Council, these recommendations center on implementation strategies more than they do philosophical goals.

Recommendation 1: *Move toward a case management model rather than a rule enforcement approach.*

The only reasonable way to focus on movement toward self sufficiency is to have that as the true goal of the organization. Currently, the goal of the organization is benefit disbursement. This is reflected in the fact that most of the resources of the agencies (state assumed or not) are geared to processing claims and being certain that only those entitled to benefits are receiving them. Eligibility technicians therefore, are evaluated and rewarded/sanctioned based on how well they process the clients' claims. There is no requirement for them to work at moving clients to self sufficiency. This finding is supported by the perception

revealed in the respondents' evaluation of the welfare offices and by the interviews with the eligibility technicians themselves. The risk with movement to a case manager model is that the fraud rate may actually increase slightly in the short term since the amount of energy that is available to pursue them will necessarily be reduced. However, in the long term more clients will be moved out of the program and then some methods of detection of fraud can then be improved since the size of the caseload will diminish. An alternative is to use some identification detection technologies to reduce fraud so that workers may be freed up to improve the clients' situation, as are currently being used in New York and California. Federal statutes allow some leeway in a state's error rate if the state is converting to a new system (CFR 45 § 205.44). Another avenue for protection from federal disallowance is to convert enforcement over to TEAMS. Statutes also allow for some flexibility if converting over to an electronic system (CFR 45 § 205.45) The following steps are proposed as ways to implement the case manager approach:

- a. Each case manager must be responsible for the client's entire range of benefits. Given the information technology available, it should be possible to design programs so that the case manager can view the wide array of services available and design a program that addresses the unique needs of the client. One has to assume that each client's needs are different. Thus, it makes more sense to have more of a "cafeteria" approach to the

provision of benefits. In some cases, it may only be necessary to provide a one-time payment to an individual. The ability to craft the benefit allocation to each individual case may well prove to offer savings in many instances. More importantly, the process of developing a plan of action for movement to self sufficiency will be carried out by one person. This will remove much of the duplication of application and processing that is currently taking place. The case manager approach is encouraged under the rules governing JOBS (CFR 45 § 250.34). Thus, this could be used as a basis for developing the system. The location of the case manager should be at the discretion of the local agency designing its own program as described later in Recommendation #2. It really does not matter if the convergence of programs is done in the direction of collecting caseworkers under contractors or collecting JOBS under agencies.

b. Case managers must be evaluated and therefore rewarded or sanctioned based on movement of individuals from dependency to self sufficiency. This is an important step in making movement to self sufficiency a priority. Currently, job descriptions center on the responsibility for completing the application process in a timely manner and enforcing limits. Since these are the areas for which eligibility technicians are held accountable they are forced to emphasize such rule enforcement and not to work with the clients to develop solutions. In

order to correct this, it will be necessary for each office to construct goals with respect to improving the condition of clients. Once these goals are established, it will be possible to base measurable outcomes on the plan. These outcomes will be used as tools for evaluating caseworkers' success rates. This reform will move the role of the caseworker from law enforcement to problem solver. The most effective manner in which to develop outcome guidelines is to include the case managers themselves in the formation of goals and definitions.

Movement to self sufficiency must be carefully measured. It is all too easy to declare one has moved to self sufficiency without being certain that such is truly the case. To be certain that one is self sufficient there must be evidence that it is sustainable. Sustainability is based both on sufficient resources and longevity. The evaluation will then be based on the income level the client achieves. If the level is sufficient to keep the client completely off the program (in excess of 133 percent of poverty) then they will be given a portion of a full credit (probably one-half). Then a followup will be carried out six months later and a year later, involving just a quick telephone call by a supervisor. If the client is still supporting her/himself then the remaining portion of credit is given (one-fourth for each check.) This is similar to the technique used by insurance companies for their sales staff to be certain that policies sold are enduring.

c. The case manager and the client must enter into a contract where the expectations of both parties are clearly defined - including means for making adjustments should anything outside of the control of either party occur. Specified sanctions and rewards for particular outcomes should be clearly described and provided in written form to the client. This process involves the blending of application with employability assessment. It also requires that both parties enter into the agreement in good faith. The client must agree to accomplish certain tasks within a given time frame and consents to evaluation of effort. The caseworker, and by association the state, agree to provide a certain level of assistance and assurance that the opportunity to complete the tasks will be provided. In other words, it would not be reasonable to expect a client to accomplish tasks such as completion of a particular course, if the course is not available.

If the client fails to complete the agreed upon tasks then the state will be able to sanction the client through a variety of methods. The client may be required to attend group sessions that convey the value of honoring commitments and what attributes are needed to be a productive citizen. Note that this type of course is not required of everyone but only of those that demonstrate that they need such instruction by their actions. Another sanction may be the removal of certain benefits - but in no case will the

children in the case be penalized for actions of their parents. This can be assured by providing vouchers specifically for the child's needs.

The process must include some avenue for the client to pursue if they feel that the requirements are unreasonable. A recommended format is to have the supervisors review the agreement (**only when there is an expression of concern by the client.**) If this does not bring satisfaction, a committee consisting of another caseworker, a professional from the social work area, and a private citizen (appointed by the representative in the client's legislative district) will review the case and recommend corrective action. The corrective action can either be in favor of the client or the caseworker. The important element here is that the primary interest is movement toward self sufficiency.

This brings up an issue that is part of the proposed reforms. Most reforms, including Montana's, are recommending a time limit for beneficiaries. In our case the proposed time limit is two years. This recommendation presents some rather significant problems. One must ask the question: "where will such people go?" If they are required to perform community work, then who pays for it? Since the number of people in Montana that already stay over two years is only around 15 percent, there should be some balance in the amount of expense that should be involved in this practice. Since the law requires that community work programs

(CWEP) not displace workers nor fill existing vacancies, it is reasonable to assume that there will be cost to the provision of such jobs (CFR 45 § 238.01).

There is also a strong likelihood that these individuals have some limitation that prevents them from complying with requirements to get work. Many such individuals may lack basic coping skills or have limited developmental capacity. Not that one should quickly catalogue these people as developmentally disabled but there will be very limited opportunity for those that simply cannot qualify for meaningful work. There may be many explanations for one not being able to get work. If the reasons are outside the control of the individual then some "good faith" language must be built into the contract. If it is truly a question of one being irresponsible then the sanction should be to take away all of their responsibilities. In Vermont, the reform proposal mandates that those that exceed the time limit of 30 months and cannot provide evidence of extenuating circumstances will have all of their family's needs paid directly by voucher. They have no options in their budgeting. This way one can truly ensure that the children are not punished for their parents' failings. It is anticipated that when this sanction is evoked the recipient will have added incentive to behave more responsibly. In instances where clients do not behave responsibly they will be treated accordingly.

d. A weighting scale needs to be developed so that case managers are given greater credit for helping those most in need. This will go far to prevent "creaming". One of the larger concerns in any effort to privatize or rely on public entrepreneurship (which this proposal does) is that there is a temptation to help those that are easiest to help. In other words, caseworkers, public or private, are tempted to keep their numbers up by focusing on those that already possess the needed skills and neglect those that will need considerably more assistance.

To prevent this, administrative agencies, preferably on the local level, will need to prepare a set of variables for which each case is awarded points. For example, if one has less than a high school education a point is awarded, if they have less than a two-year degree, a point is awarded (therefore the person with less than a high school education gets two points - one for the less than high school and one for the less than two-year degree.) Other factors that can be included are number of children, years out of the work force, and so forth. These factors are in keeping with the findings of the study regarding barriers to movement to self sufficiency. The individual caseworker and the agency are evaluated based on how many points they gain by moving people to self sufficiency. Such a process will not necessarily discourage the agency from helping those that need

little help. It will just encourage them to use fewer resources in doing so and working harder for the tougher cases.

Recommendation 2: *Shift the administration of the program from one based on the bureaucratic model to one based on public entrepreneurship.* This is the most significant implementation element of these recommendations. The other steps being suggested are less likely to succeed under a continuation of the bureaucratic approach to organizing. As discussed in Part II above, the bureaucratic form relies on rule enforcement and strict jurisdictional lines. Such rigidity does not encourage one to be a problem solver. Ralph Hummel emphasized this point in a rather widely read book, The Bureaucratic Experience, in which he describes the "bureaucratic personality" (Hummel, 1993). The tendency is for one to begin to focus exclusively on rule enforcement and treating of clients as cases within the bureaucratic organization. The bureaucratic form is no longer necessary and may be replaced with what Tom Peters terms an "ad hocracy." Bureaucracies were developed to accommodate the several levels of middle management necessary to run larger organizations. These middle managers are no longer needed since information technology can manage the coordination of the larger organization much more efficiently.

Public entrepreneurship centers on drawing upon the talents and creativity of all the employees of the public organization. It seeks the organizational form that is best suited to the task being undertaken. In this case, it is preferable to

grant as much latitude to the local agencies and the individual caseworker (actually, the better term in this instance is "case manager" since that more accurately describes what they will do) as possible. **The entrepreneurial organization can reach a goal that is outcome-based with discretion placed in the hands of a case worker, a bureaucracy cannot.** This option also allows the combinations of organizational forms that present structures do not allow. For example, the case manager may have direct contact with the job training specialist to be certain that the clients' needs are being met. In a bureaucratic form such lateral contact is actively discouraged.

It is imperative that it be understood that movement away from bureaucracy will not be easy. The current structure has built in protections for itself. Its enormity and principles that promote formal structure will be extremely difficult to break through. Those in the upper middle structure will feel particularly threatened by such proposals. They will be able to pull out many different devices that they have at their disposal to stop such reforms. These may be as simple as selective implementation or as aggressive as controlling information. In any event, the conversion should be carried out carefully and a sound support base should be formed prior to implementing any changes. This is best accomplished by involving those being affected in the design of the reforms, especially the "front line" people. An important point to be made here is that the members of the human service organizations have performed admirably under

present circumstances. They have borne up well under challenges of increasing case loads and procedural requirements. Their responsiveness to clients has been impressive under these conditions. This is certainly reflected in the reaction of the clientele expressed through the evaluation of the welfare offices in the study. However, the reforms being attempted require a profound philosophical change. The best way to accommodate this change is by drawing upon the creative abilities of those working in the human service occupations. This cannot take place within the bureaucratic environment. This in no way suggests that public organizations cannot be successful. Rather, it suggests that in order to be successful the public organizations need the dramatic shift associated with public entrepreneurship.

a. **Allow counties, HRDCs, or any combination of local human service providers to submit proposals regarding goals for their region and means for accomplishing their goals.** In order to call upon the creative abilities of the human service professionals a competitive process needs to be incorporated. This should not be competition in the traditional sense. In other words, the system should be designed to avoid the "zero sum" approach to competition. It is not absolutely necessary to have absolute winners and losers in this proposition. Therefore, any cooperative efforts may be allowed at the local or regional level. Through these cooperations proposals may be put together that suggest the method of delivery, desired

outcomes, and evaluative strategies that the local proposer considers most likely to achieve success.

Proposals are evaluated by a task force of public employees and citizens and a contract is awarded to the organization with the best proposal. (This will allow the public organizations to compete.) The main idea here is that being called upon to design a program that emphasizes outcomes will require the organizations to think in non-bureaucratic terms. Thus, at the same time they are competing they are developing an ownership in the success of the reforms. A rather unique aspect of this recommendation is that counties are allowed to form their own cooperative arrangement to compete with any private group that may offer similar services. Montana Code allows counties to form such cooperative arrangements in the interest of providing better services (MCA 53-2-301).

The basic idea is that the target is to identify the best provider of the services needed. The most effective manner of accomplishing this is to rely on the providers themselves to formulate methods of operation. Then it becomes their responsibility to not only convince the granting agency that their approach is the better one but to sustain that effort. There has been some debate recently as to whether Human Resource Development Councils would be better providers than state or county agencies. The best way to resolve this issue is to allow them to compete with one another. If

the counties can put together a better proposal then they should be allowed to do so. Public entrepreneurship approaches encourage healthy competition and cooperative arrangements at the same time. This opens the door for public-private arrangements, coprovision, and coproduction approaches. The new bottom line is that the proposer of the arrangement must be able to demonstrate that it is likely to produce better outcomes. Jurisdiction is no longer the central issue, outcomes are much more important.

b. Based on the targets set by the successful bidder, require the state offices to engage in contract monitoring only rather than rule or procedure enforcement. This recommendation is at the heart of de-bureaucratization. It also responds in the most direct manner to the criticisms expressed by the respondents and reformers alike of bureaucratic "red tape." The movement away from establishing universal rules and allowing discretion on the part of case workers is a very direct assault on the principles of bureaucracy. It is essential to understand that there can be no "fudging" on this process. In other words, the greatest temptation is to continue some of the control over the providers by including specific requirements for procedure. This will serve only to maintain the bureaucracy and allow its strength to be reasserted. Tom Peters has described many instances where the failure to commit to a shift to non-bureaucratic approaches has only

resulted in backsliding. The main concern should be the exploration of methods of success rather than maintaining tight controls on process.

While it may appear rather risky, the emphasis on outcomes provides some assurance that unreasonable courses of action will not fall within tolerable limits.

The most difficult aspect of de-bureaucratizing is to allow a learning period. Unfortunately, most learning is done by trial-and-error. The transition to a public entrepreneurship model will necessitate allowing some mistakes to be made, especially in the early periods. Since most organizations and individuals that have been involved in the social services area have been somewhat conditioned to follow a set of rules and not to explore for better ways to do things, they are probably going to take some wrong turns. The response in these cases must be to call upon the innovator to design corrective actions rather than to impose some set of rules that will cover all such eventualities. It is extremely important to allow the new providers to learn. Accountability will be maintained within the realm of information technologies linkage and contract monitoring schemes. The latter area, contract monitoring, is another one in which a great deal of learning needs to take place. Contract monitoring is a vital step in improving performance but is not a panacea. Through cooperative efforts from agencies, professional groups, and researchers performance

monitoring standards may be constructed (Wholey and Hatry, 1992). The crucial point here is that the "safe" route has proven ineffective and now it is time to take a chance on the creativity and competence of the case managers and their colleagues.

c. Allow regions to use funds remaining at the end of the year as they see fit within the limits of the law. This may seem a bit out of place but it is complementary to the process of drawing upon entrepreneurial strengths. If the organizations can experience some payoff for being successful, both in terms of outcomes for clients and efficient use of resources, they are more likely to reinforce the value of being creative. By carrying over funds, organizations may be able to use them to put together a reward program (something like profit sharing) or to design a "pet project" that the members of the organization have been discussing for some time. The latter of these two events is actually the more likely outcome.

Even if the reward system approach is used there will be some real benefits as far as all of the reforms are concerned. The attitude of case managers will improve and the kind of reception the client experiences will be a more encouraging one rather than a judging one. The ability to carry over will also curb the "end of the year spending frenzy" which occurs regularly under current budgetary policy. This spending frenzy is rather

demoralizing to taxpayers and agency personnel themselves. Carryover encourages productive behaviors instead of wasteful ones.

d. Include any innovative schemes for provision of services as means to accomplish the goal of self sufficiency. The essence of public entrepreneurship is that innovation takes many forms and every effort should be taken to discover an approach that works without confining options to current practices. Many of these innovations involve shifting responsibility for the provision of services (Edgar, 1991). The premise is that the proper role of government is **not to provide services**. Rather, the proper role is to **provide for the forum through which the type, scope, and method of delivery is determined**. This may seem a rather subtle difference but if the clients, case managers, and even the general public are involved in the process of this discovery, commitment to success is increased. Rather than a program being constructed by the agency and then "thrown" at the public, even with a public comment period (essentially, a "what do you think?" period) the other interests are brought into the initial problem statement stage.

The resulting innovations should be quite impressive if the process is sincere. There are many ways to reduce the responsibilities of the public agency for direct provision of services through these innovations. Instead, the agencies are able to take on the more creative endeavors of problem

solving and performance monitoring. They extend well beyond the few ideas offered in Reinventing Government. (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992)

The following variations are listed to give some idea of how broad these innovations may extend:

Entrepreneurship. Active efforts to enhance the private sector climate and thus improve revenue bases (e.g., encouraging clients to start their own business).

Public/Private Partnership. Capturing part of the profits that accrue from a joint venture between public and private sectors, (e.g., sharing of rent payments from a small business incubator established for low income clients).

Coproduction. The voluntary production of goods and/or services by local residents, usually in conjunction with public agencies (e.g., retired volunteers teaching business skills to clients).

Coprovision. Similar to coproduction but involving more the contribution of money or time by citizens for the provision of publicly provided goods or services, (e.g., child care cooperatives).

Internal Mechanisms. These are approaches that deviate from the standard public sector practices that are used to stimulate creative behaviors within the government:

Pay-for-Performance Systems. This approach seeks to redesign incentive systems within organizations. The traditional civil service reward system is viewed as a barrier to innovative behaviors on the part of employees. Thus, pay could actually be tied to movement of clients to self sufficiency. A reasonable approach toward this end would be the setting of a base salary plus bonuses awarded based on the total number of points gained by moving clients to self sufficiency as described above.

Innovative Budgeting Approaches. The responsibility for budgeting is either altered or relocated. This may include multi-year budgeting or decentralized profit centers.

Flexible Human Resources Approaches. The relationship between the contracting parties may be altered so that the time commitment of employees is tied more to the goals of the organization. This may involve the use of part-time or seasonal employees or consultants. To this, may be added the use of flex time or innovative job designs. In this case, clients could engage in time-shared positions to accommodate the work place and child care needs.

Intrapreneuring. Such approaches attempt to create a new sense of ownership among managers in the public sector. The goal is to encourage entrepreneurial activities by these managers that will improve efficiency or

non-tax revenues. Managers at the local level view their job as more of a resource expansion than benefit dispersal.

Volunteers/Fundraisers/Citizen Bureaucrats. These efforts involve the active recruitment of volunteers to provide some services. One of the most common of these is the development of neighborhood watch groups. Attempts to raise funds through drives or private grants may also be included.

External Mechanisms. These pertain to efforts to involve the private sector in the provision of service delivery or the use of private sector techniques by the public sector.

Public/Private Sector Competition Contracting with public sector departments while also contracting with private sector organizations in an attempt to identify optimal service systems. The use of competitive bidding by the public agencies compels them to operate in a more efficient manner if they wish to compete.

Contracting Out. The production of services through a contract with a private sector organization or another government jurisdiction. This may include shared services by counties, the transfer of responsibility to state government, the use of local vendors, or the temporary contracting with consultants to aid in motivating clients.

Economic Stimulation Agencies themselves, along with the clients may wish to engage in activities that will actually improve the economic climate. This is a more direct assault on the underlying reason for increasing benefit payments:

Enterprise Zones. Areas of the jurisdiction designated for economic growth stimulation are taken advantage of by the agencies in order to improve employment prospects. Frequently, this involves the use of industrial parks for reduced taxes or other benefits provided by the local government.

Small Business Incubator. An arrangement established through the cooperation of government and other interests, such as economic development corporations that assist in the early development of enterprises by providing space or consulting services.

Subsidy Arrangement. The financial or in-kind contribution to a private organization is made by the local government in order to increase the level or quality of service. For example, a local government may choose to contribute to a YMCA to provide recreation services or physical fitness services to improve client self esteem.

Vouchers. The local government provides citizens with a coupon to be used toward the purchase of a specific local service. An example is the granting of discount coupons for public transportation. Another example

was provided above when the suggestion was offered that vouchers be used in instances where the client is not demonstrating responsibility.

Marketing of Public Services. The government actively assesses the needs of clients or citizens and then designs services to fit those customer needs rather than producing services which may be without consumer utility: reducing demand for public services through marketing strategies. This could include the use of flexible or temporary benefits rather than full participation. Such marketing would likely result in preventive measures since people may seek the temporary assistance when they begin to get in trouble financially. A quick, one-time boost may very well prevent them from sliding into a more long term difficulty which, of course, will prevent them from having to seek assistance when they reach a much more problematic situation.

Investment Approaches. Agencies, public or private, attempt to improve their income through the investment of public funds, repurchase agreements, and local government investment pools.

The possibilities are nearly endless once public programs are based on concepts of entrepreneurship. The most critical idea is to stimulate creative thinking within the human services sector. This will become self generating. The more providers observe payoffs, the more likely that they will participate in the creative endeavors.

Recommendation 3: *Develop a more comprehensive job training program that integrates schools, vo-techs, community colleges, and the University System, as well as employers.*

a. Each entity will develop standards of satisfactory progress that will tie success to meaningful outcomes. For the most part standards already exist but need to be integrated to a much greater degree. Since public law already allows recipients to attend postsecondary educational institutions, it is a relatively simple step to incorporate the standards of satisfactory progress into the contractual agreement discussed above (CFR 45, §250.46 and §250.48). The G.I. Bill incorporated similar policy in the 1970s and set standards of satisfactory progress for all recipients. The problem that is being addressed here is that it would be unreasonable to have one agency have a set of standards and the provider of education/training have another set. The standards must be based on outcomes that are clearly linked to successful completion of the program and employability.

b. Institutions should develop linkage programs so that clients are being trained for specific job opportunities identified by employers.

There are many institutions taking part in business/industry "linkage" programs. These include the training of employees in a variety of skill areas, technical (consulting) assistance by faculty members and faculty/executive exchange programs. Much has been written about the

success of these programs and even more about how an increase in this relationship needs to take place. In fact, the response by educational institutions to calls for linkage has been so slow that many of the larger corporations have been forced to develop their own institutions of higher education (that are even accredited institutions, in many cases.) The developing technologies of the postindustrial society are such that the linkage between education and the labor force itself must be more direct and immediate. Change is taking place at such a rapid pace that the process of allowing the new knowledge to filter through the process of trainees being brought into the system is no longer effective. There is a need for the institutions of education and production working in a partnership that allows the mutual feedback loops to work on a more continuous and immediate basis.

The same needs exist in the public sector that exist in the private sector so linkage programs should not be limited to private employers. Attempts must be made to develop partnerships between education and public sector agencies in order to keep up with rapid changes being experienced. In order to develop an idea of how such a change may take place it is necessary to consider some of the current practices.

A discussion frequently conducted in college classes is that things in the "real world" may or may not be different. This demonstrates that the

practice at the present time is that educators train students in theory and give them the broad conceptual tools or specific skills that they need to function in the "real world." Once the education system is "finished" with the students, then the businesses and/or agencies mold them into useful employees. While this may have been a useful means of carrying out education in the industrial age, it is quickly becoming dysfunctional. Technologies are changing so rapidly and becoming so specific, that the graduate is no longer as useful as he/she once was. Organizations now must endeavor to undertake expensive training programs in order to develop useful employees. In many cases, businesses and/or agencies are unable to locate the graduates with the appropriate skills simply because they have no prior contact with them. A stronger relationship between the two systems enables educational and training institutions to develop appropriate graduates and for the "real world" to be familiar with the abilities of the students in advance.

Unfortunately, many institutions are not prepared to undertake aggressive linkage programs. They are unable or unwilling to be directly involved with other organizations. The educational institutions have been developed on the ideal that they are centers of learning exclusively and a stronger relationship will threaten their autonomy; which will, in turn, threaten academic freedom. They stubbornly cling to their right to conduct

classes and develop skills exclusive of any outside influence. However, there are means by which close association can be formed without the loss of autonomy which have been demonstrated by several institutions in recent years (Enos, 1986). The important point here is that the institutions need to undertake such relationships and it has been demonstrated that these can be successful. A very recent example of how this can work is with the Work America Program that specifically works with AFDC recipients.

There are certain arrangements that may take place in order to make such programs successful. First, a much more aggressive set of internship programs or on-the-job training may be developed to integrate the actual workplace with the training program. It is vitally important that such arrangements focus on the development of long-term sustainable jobs and not in low-paying short term jobs. Second, faculty members, whether they are trainers in skills classes or professors should be much more willing to operate on a more direct basis with employers whether it is through consulting or through direct training programs. Third, faculty/executive exchange programs on a broader basis will further assist in the more direct and immediate integration of ideas in the specific fields of employment training.

Internship programs - While some internship programs do exist, they are typically aspecific, undersupervised, and at the mercy of outside organizations. Educational institutions need to assign either faculty members, trainers, or administrators to marketing their interns and encourage specific employers to use their interns. By so doing, the academic programs can anticipate being able to place their students in experiences that are more directly linked to their specialties and more relevant to the educational experience. The faculty need to be able to oversee the interns' work directly so that the educational progress is consistent and areas of weakness can be addressed by the educational institution. The educational institutions will thus be able to control their own internship programs and not be caught in the position that allows some other institution to determine what the interns do and how they do it. Internships can be direct lines of feedback loops so that educational programs are suitable to the workforce and so that students can improve their marketability prior to graduation. The transition between higher education and the workforce at this time is inefficient and frankly, unfair to the graduates. As shown by the responses in the survey, placement is not seen as a strength in the JOBS Program. These types of reforms will go far in improving this perception.

Faculty Exchange - Another, more innovative, tool for developing the linkage between academia and the "outside world" is the practice of faculty/executive exchanges. Some organizations have developed extraordinarily successful relationships with academic institutions that enable them to share human resources. A faculty member works for the organization for one academic year in exchange for a senior executive conducting classes. Both organizations gain from the experience. The business/industry/public agency gain a highly trained innovative faculty member who brings new ideas and energy into their organization and they gain an insight into how the university students are being trained. At the same time, the faculty member learns how the theory relates to practice and gains some insights into other issues that may not be apparent from the classroom.

The educational institution, on the other hand, gains an experienced, knowledgeable professional who can share some meaningful insights with the students. The students have access to a more direct contact with their field and may develop more realistic expectations. The senior executive learns more about the classroom experience and the challenges being faced by educational institutions in the preparation of future employees. The arrangement may be somewhat complex but the rewards appear to be worthwhile and the potential gain is downright impressive. The main idea

is to improve the relevance of the training provided and most of all, to increase placement.

c. Case managers should be able to include financial aid in their data base. The existing system does not allow financial aid to be calculated as part of the total package. The suggested change here is that this information be made available so that there is no question of what income the student-client is receiving. It is very important to state here that it is **not recommended** that this be used as a way to reduce benefits. Quite the contrary, it is strongly recommended that this be used as part of a reward system. Quite frankly, constructive behavior, such as working on a degree, should be rewarded.

As shown by the responses to training needs and the open-ended responses, the clients are quite interested in advancing their education. Many respondents specifically indicated that it would be far more reasonable to facilitate the educational process for any that pursue it seriously than to treat it as a sideline or worse, as an inconvenience for the human service employees. Having access to the financial aid information will go far in relieving the strain between the two efforts. This will further the cause of moving people to self sufficiency. Since financial aids data includes academic progress it will also alleviate duplicated effort. As noted earlier, the most successful social program in recent U.S. history has been

the G. I. Bill. The G.I. Bill utilized an approach very similar to the one suggested here.

Recommendation 4: *Focus efforts on the reduction of poverty in the state of Montana.*

a. **Integrate efforts with economic development strategies so that decent paying jobs are being developed.** It is critically important to appreciate the complexity of developing an economy that is sustainable. Most traditional efforts at economic development either center on pursuing outside organizations to enter the community and provide jobs or on a single project that will provide many jobs. Both ideas are ill-conceived since they first, continue the likelihood that the jobs could be lost with a singular event, and second, place too much discretion into the hands of the employer. Human service agencies have a stake in participating in successful economic development efforts that avoid such problems. The only way that any hope of success can come about in present reform efforts is that the jobs that are developed pay well and are likely to last.

If communities rely on single, large employers, that have either come from somewhere else or have been developed through a single project, then any shift in the economy may place the entire work force at risk. These are lessons that should have been learned from the experiences with the Anaconda company or Champion. Since economies

are now so much at the mercy of international forces and dramatic changes in technology, the risks are even greater now than in the past that a single industry could be so victimized. The successful economic projects have been those that have relied on diversification. By concentrating on diversified efforts the shifts in the market can be absorbed by taking advantage of contingency concepts of buffering (Tausky, 1981).

Another drawback to developing jobs through a single, large employer is that it places the community at the mercy of that employer. Consequently, employers once they are established, will tend to influence the direction of the community more than may be desirable. Past experience has also shown that the employer will threaten and cajole communities with possibilities of cutbacks to get tax breaks and relief from community ordinances. This causes a shift in tax burdens to those that can least afford it and consequences for the local entity that will cost in the long run. If there are multiple unrelated employers in the same locality this kind of power is unavailable to the employers. No one can fault an employer for taking advantage of the kind of leverage single source employment creates. However, this rather risky situation may be avoided by using foresight and diversifying economies.

b. Encourage participation by local institutions in welfare reform so that the need to develop sustainable jobs is clearly understood. This suggestion

calls for a departure from the past practice of compartmentalized problem solving. The problems that are being addressed by the welfare reform efforts are not isolated. They are directly a result of shifts in the economy. In Montana, the economy has clearly moved in a direction that increases the likelihood of poverty. The job market has been shifting from primarily in the resource industries such as mining, timber, and agriculture to the service market and retail. Consequently, the income of Montanans has been dropping relative to the cost of living. The segment most directly affected by this shift is younger families. Therefore, they are constantly at risk of falling below poverty levels. If there is a breakup of the family or if there are single income families for whatever reason this risk is further exacerbated.

Members of the human services efforts, whether they are public or private, need to be taking a more high profile position that encourages economic development efforts that will bring about decent-paying jobs. The main purpose of this recommendation is to improve the probability of success of reform efforts. If the trends in the economy continue and non-sustainable employment is the main feature of the Montana economy, all the administrative efforts suggested above will go for naught. There is no question that the most important reform that can take place is the development of sustainable jobs. We can no longer afford the luxury of

identifying a niche in society as human service workers or economic development experts or whatever specialty we have chosen and remaining there. It is essential that those that observe the consequences of economic choices be more directly involved in the process of economic development.

c. Emphasis should be placed on drawing from the creative resources of the members of the community, including the clients on AFDC. Just as many of the recommendations above have focused attention on the need to draw out the creative abilities of those working in agencies, public and private, any efforts at economic development should draw upon the creative abilities of as many people as possible. The best way to diversify an economy is to broaden the talent pool. The expansion of ideas can only serve to enhance the likelihood of discovering new markets, new solutions, and new possibilities. It is imperative to recognize that everyone has a gift of some kind. The saddest part of the large numbers of people in the public assistance system is their inability to express their gift. It is much more effective to call upon our neighbors in need to participate in developing solutions than to just identify them as the problem.

Conclusion: The most important step that can be taken in welfare reform is to honestly pursue self-sufficiency as a final outcome. If we truly want to reduce not just the costs in terms of the budget, but in terms of the people, we must embark on programs that bring the best out in people. To continue a system that punishes productive behavior on the

part of the clients, the public employee, and the educators will only make the problem worse. To believe that we can just sweep the problem under the rug by simply insisting that people fend for themselves without giving them the means to do so will only serve to increase failure. Compassion and public policy are not at odds with one another if we all focus our efforts on success.

APPENDIX A

May I speak with _____.

[If the answering individual is the person listed, begin the interview (#)], if not:

Is _____ available to speak to me? [If yes, then once they are on the line begin the interview at #] If no, ask if there is a time when you may call them. If you make an appointment, log it and be certain that it is kept.

My name is (First Name) and I work for Northwest Community Consultants which is contracted with the State of Montana to gather information from a particular group of citizens.

This information will be used to improve the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program or (AFDC). In order to get this information we are talking to current and former recipients of AFDC.

The answers you give us will be **completely confidential**. No one in any state agency will know who gave these responses. We chose random names and responses will not be connected to names. We are very interested in your opinions and answers and we are not selling anything. Is this a good time?

1. Are you currently receiving AFDC?

-----Yes_____ No_____

| If yes, go to question # 5

| If no, continue with # 2

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2. What would you say helped you get off the AFDC program? Please indicate all that apply by answering yes or no.

Yes No

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I received the needed training to get a job. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I went back to school. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I got married to someone that could support the children and me. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I got a job in a field for which I was already qualified. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I got tired of being on welfare. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | My dependent children were no longer eligible. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I started my own business. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | My health got better. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | My family or friends took me in. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | My children went to live with their other parent. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I got help from the welfare agency getting employment. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I got counselling that enabled me to get back on my feet. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I made lifestyle changes that enabled me to get work. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I got a second job. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I was declared ineligible by the welfare office. |

3. What is the most important thing that will help you stay off AFDC?

4. What was the most important thing about your situation that made it difficult for you get off AFDC? What was the second most important? What was the third? [Identify the top three using 1=most important; 2=2nd most important; 3=3rd most important.]

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (a) Lack of education |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (b) Lack of job skills |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (c) Age(s) of my child(ren) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (d) Number of children |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (e) Child(ren) had special needs (e.g., developmentally disabled) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (f) Lack of affordable child care |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (g) Lack of appropriate child care
(explain: _____) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (h) Health problems |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (i) Time management (I couldn't manage to work and care for my children) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (j) Financial (I would make more staying on than getting off) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | (k) Personal problems (relationships, stress, fear) |

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- ____ (l) Lack of health care coverage.
____ (m) Other _____

5. How many separate times have you been on AFDC?

[If currently on:] Is it difficult to get off the program?

____ Yes ____ No If yes: What was the reason?

[If not currently on:] Was it difficult to get off the program?

____ Yes ____ No If yes: What was the reason?

[Wait for response and check all that apply. If the respondent has no response then read the list.]

- ____ (a) Lack of job opportunities
____ (b) Low pay of jobs
____ (c) Seasonal work
____ (e) Not enough education
____ (f) Health problems (parent)
____ (g) Personal problems (relationships)
____ (h) Too stressful to work and raise children
____ (i) Not enough time to work and raise children
____ (j) Financial management problems
____ (k) Health problems (children)
____ (l) Difficulty getting child care
____ (m) Other _____

6. What changes in the program would you suggest to help people get off the program sooner? [List brief responses below]

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

7. How old were you when you first received assistance for your child?

8. Did your family receive AFDC when you were a child?

Yes _____ No _____ If so, for approximately how long? _____

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9. Indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

If there was no AFDC program:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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_____	_____	_____	_____	I would have been forced to leave the state.
_____	_____	_____	_____	I would have been without a home.
_____	_____	_____	_____	I would have turned to family for help.
_____	_____	_____	_____	I would have turned to friends for help.
_____	_____	_____	_____	My children would have had to go live with someone else.
_____	_____	_____	_____	I would have had to work more than one job.
_____	_____	_____	_____	I probably would have turned to illegal activities.
_____	_____	_____	_____	I would have had to drop out of school.
_____	_____	_____	_____	I would have sought child care services in order to go to work.
_____	_____	_____	_____	My parents would have done everything they could for me.
_____	_____	_____	_____	My brothers/sisters are the last people that I would have turned to.

I have just a few more questions. Let me remind you that this is completely confidential.

10. Now we would like you to evaluate the performance of the welfare office employees. For each of the following areas, assign a grade (with A=excellent; B=good; C=fair; D=poor; and F=very poor). [If the respondent says they don't know enter 0; if they say that it didn't apply to them, enter 99]

_____	Courtesy toward clients.
_____	Courtesy toward you.
_____	Timely processing of your benefit.
_____	How they demonstrated concern for clients.
_____	How they treated clients with respect.
_____	How clearly they explained benefits to you.
_____	How helpful they were.
_____	How they treated you with trust.
_____	How they tried to get you to a better situation.
_____	The number of options they presented to you.
_____	How they tried to place you in a job training program.
_____	How easy it was to get in contact with a social worker.

11. Have you been enrolled in JOBS or any other employment training program?

____ Yes ____ No-----> Go to Question #11

a. If yes, which program(s)? _____

b. Do you feel that each of the following was very helpful, helpful, a little helpful, or a waste of time:

Very Helpful	Helpful	A little helpful	A waste of time	
_____	_____	_____	_____	Job Counselling
_____	_____	_____	_____	Training classes
_____	_____	_____	_____	On-the-Job training
_____	_____	_____	_____	Job placement
_____	_____	_____	_____	The JOBS program
_____	_____	_____	_____	Other employment training program
_____	_____	_____	_____	Vocational school
_____	_____	_____	_____	Higher education
_____	_____	_____	_____	GED courses.

11. Are you attending school?

Yes _____ No _____

12. Is your spouse attending school?

Yes _____ No _____

13. What is the last grade you completed in school?

_____ less than 8th
_____ 9th through 11th
_____ High School Diploma (includes GED)
_____ Vo-Tech (postsecondary)
_____ 1-2 years of college
_____ 3-4 years of college
_____ Bachelors degree
_____ Some Graduate school
_____ Masters degree
_____ Doctoral work
_____ PhD or equivalent
_____ Other

APPENDIX A

14. Do you still need some kind of training in order to be on your own?

_____ Yes _____ No [Go to #16]

a. What kind of training do you need?

- _____ High school diploma
- _____ Vocational-Technical school
- _____ College degree
- _____ Training that will lead to a professional license (civil engineering, insurance, beautician, etc.)
- _____ Financial management (personal)
- _____ Stress management
- _____ Job search (resume writing, strategies, etc.)
- _____ Other _____

15. Which alternatives to AFDC did you try before applying? Answer yes or no to each of the following.

- | Yes | No | |
|-------|-------|--|
| _____ | _____ | (a) Full time employment |
| _____ | _____ | (b) Part time employment |
| _____ | _____ | (c) Self employment |
| _____ | _____ | (d) Returning to school |
| _____ | _____ | (e) Family Help |
| _____ | _____ | (f) Help from church |
| _____ | _____ | (g) Help from charity groups |
| _____ | _____ | (h) Looking for somewhere else to live |
| _____ | _____ | (i) Getting help from the other parent |
| _____ | _____ | (j) Selling property |

16. The following statements are explanations that some give for deciding to apply for benefits. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree that the statement describes your situation when you decided to apply.

- | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | |
|----------------|-------|----------|-------------------|---|
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Everyone had abandoned me. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | I could have tried harder. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | I couldn't think of anything else. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | I needed more information before deciding whether to apply. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | My children were suffering. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | This wasn't going to be so bad. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | I was worried about having no home. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | This would only be temporary. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | The state owed me some help. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | I couldn't find a job anywhere. |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | I could have left the state. |

APPENDIX A

No one else cared what happened to us.

This was not charity.

17. Briefly describe as well as you can what your life would be without AFDC.

18. Is there anything else you think will help improve AFDC?

Thank you for spending the time with me. Your comments will be very helpful in improving the program.

Appendix B

Frequencies of Actual Responses to Survey

1. Are you currently receiving AFDC?

Yes 410 No 188

2. What would you say helped you get off the AFDC program?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Ans.</u>	
33	150	416	I received the needed training to get a job.
49	131	419	I went back to school.
29	146	424	I got married to someone that could support the children and me.
81	96	421	I got a job in a field for which I was already qualified.
101	71	427	I got tired of being on welfare.
15	153	431	My dependent children were no longer eligible.
15	154	430	I started my own business.
22	145	432	My health got better.
13	155	431	My family or friends took me in.
8	160	431	My children went to live with their other parent.
9	161	429	I got help from the welfare agency getting employment.
19	149	431	I got counselling that enabled me to get back on my feet.
54	114	431	I made lifestyle changes that enabled me to get work.
13	154	432	I got a second job.
64	107	428	I was declared ineligible by the welfare office.
23	145	431	I received assistance with child care.

3. What is the most important thing that will help you stay off AFDC? [SEE APPENDIX C]

Appendix B

4. What was the most important thing about your situation that made it difficult for you get off AFDC, second, third?

<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	
34	10	5	Lack of education
16	19	11	Lack of job skills
15	8	10	Age(s) of my child(ren)
1	8	3	Number of children
1	2	2	Child(ren) had special needs (e.g., developmentally disabled)
9	22	14	Lack of affordable child care
5	8	17	Lack of appropriate child care
7	2	2	Health problems
11	9	2	Time management (I couldn't manage to work and care for my children)
5	7	6	Financial (I would make more staying on than getting off)
26	21	5	Personal problems (relationships, stress, fear)
4	6	7	Lack of health care coverage.
24	17	17	Other

5. How many separate times have you been on AFDC?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1	262	44.4
2	179	30.3
3	84	14.4
4	36	6.2
5	11	1.9
6+	10	1.7
No Answer	8	1.4

Appendix B

[If currently on:] Is it difficult to get off the program?

Yes 274 No 219 If yes: What was the reason?

[If not currently on:] Was it difficult to get off the program?

Yes 84 No 72 If yes: What was the reason?

1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th

123	21	17	10	7	Lack of job opportunities
62	106	17	11	6	Low pay of jobs
1	0	1	0	0	Seasonal work
18	36	38	15	11	Not enough education
13	16	18	16	6	Health problems (parent)
2	12	9	10	6	Personal problems (relationships)
1	6	19	19	11	Too stressful to work and raise children
3	12	17	20	10	Not enough time to work and raise children
3	12	17	20	10	Financial management problems
14	17	19	17	10	Health problems (children)
8	5	13	10	7	Difficulty getting child care
26	21	34	24	32	Other _____

6. What changes in the program would you suggest to help people get off the program sooner? [List brief responses below]

[SEE APPENDIX C]

Appendix B

7. How old were you when you first received assistance for your child?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
12	1	.2
15	2	.3
16	13	2.2
17	42	7.1
18	57	9.7
19	42	7.2
20	38	6.4
21	37	6.3
22	36	6.1
23	29	4.9
24	28	4.7
25	41	6.9
26	18	3.1
27	14	2.4
28	26	4.4
29	11	1.9
30	20	3.4
31	13	2.2
32	10	1.7
33	10	1.7
34	8	1.4
35	18	3.1
36	5	.8
37	10	1.7
38	4	.7
39	7	1.2
40	10	1.7
41+	31	5.1

8. Did your family receive AFDC when you were a child?

Yes 79 No 514

If so, for approximately how long? .770 Years

Appendix B

9. Indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

If there was no AFDC program:

Strongly
Agree Agree Disagree Strongly
Disagree No Answer

62	165	273	80	7	I would have been forced to leave the state.
108	237	193	46	7	I would have been without a home.
126	311	102	49	4	I would have turned to family for help.
38	243	236	70	3	I would have turned to friends for help.
61	168	229	128	6	My children would have had to go live with someone else.
170	341	57	12	10	I would have had to work more than one job.
26	74	249	239	5	I probably would have turned to illegal activities.
82	206	165	62	72	I would have had to drop out of school.
108	389	60	18	14	I would have sought child care services in order to go to work.
116	321	88	45	20	My parents would have done everything they could for me.
44	179	245	93	28	My brothers/sisters are the last people that I would have turned to.

10. For each of the following areas, assign a grade (with A=excellent; B=good; C=fair; D=poor; and F=very poor).

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>No Answer</u>	
153	223	130	50	36	4	Courtesy toward clients.
180	237	117	35	27	0	Courtesy toward you.
199	212	101	54	30	0	Timely processing of your benefit.
128	203	143	63	49	10	How they demonstrated concern for clients.
124	237	123	66	41	4	How they treated clients with respect.
166	237	103	60	30	1	How clearly they explained benefits to you.
158	234	116	57	29	0	How helpful they were.
161	246	95	43	43	6	How they treated you with trust.
109	134	96	123	96	36	How they tried to get you to a better situation.
69	127	107	130	118	40	The number of options they presented to you.
76	114	62	101	104	117	How they tried to place you in a job training program.
159	166	114	82	67	5	How easy it was to get in contact with a social worker.

Appendix B

11. Have you been enrolled in JOBS or any other employment training program?

Yes 188 No 407

Do you feel that each of the following was very helpful, helpful, a little helpful, or a waste of time:

Very Helpful	Helpful	A little helpful	A waste of time	No Answer	
33	63	30	35	28	Job Counselling
25	61	27	32	43	Training classes
33	36	23	29	68	On-the-Job training
22	32	33	42	58	Job placement
49	53	32	32	26	The JOBS program
18	32	28	28	78	Other employment training program
28	40	25	19	72	Vocational school
41	41	16	21	69	Higher education
47	31	11	14	80	GED courses.
43	40	17	22	61	Self Esteem Courses

11. Are you attending school?

Yes 143 No 454 No Answer 3

12. Is your spouse attending?

Yes 29 No 385 No Answer 166

13. What is the last grade you completed in school?

17	less than 8th
102	9th through 11th
189	High School Diploma (includes GED)
32	Vo-Tech (postsecondary)
98	1-2 years of college
52	3-4 years of college
13	Bachelors degree
6	Some Graduate school
2	Masters degree
6	Doctoral work
0	PhD or equivalent
4	Other
3	No Answer

14. Do you still need some kind of training in order to be on your own?

Yes 363 No 230 No Answer 7

Appendix B

a. What kind of training do you need?

27	High school diploma
81	Vocational-Technical school
88	College degree
72	Training that will lead to a professional license
3	Financial management (personal)
6	Stress management
16	Job search (resume writing, strategies, etc.)
3	Other _____
239	No Answer

15. Which alternatives to AFDC did you try before applying?

Yes	No	No Answer	
-----	----	-----------	--

370	205	23	Full time employment
322	253	24	Part time employment
126	436	36	Self employment
289	288	22	Returning to school
343	229	25	Family Help
106	466	26	Help from church
116	456	27	Help from charity groups
255	321	23	Looking for somewhere else to live
200	372	26	Getting help from the other parent
80	492	27	Selling property

Appendix B

16. The following statements are explanations that some give for deciding to apply for benefits. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree that the statement describes your situation when you decided to apply.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Answer	
45	123	314	105	9	Everyone had abandoned me.
18	155	298	117	10	I could have tried harder.
112	298	149	27	11	I couldn't think of anything else.
45	165	324	39	26	I needed more information before deciding whether to apply.
83	242	223	35	10	My children were suffering.
20	297	202	62	13	This wasn't going to be so bad.
128	256	162	42	6	I was worried about having no home.
157	387	29	16	10	This would only be temporary.
12	83	344	149	10	The state owed me some help.
92	229	211	36	26	I couldn't find a job anywhere.
21	149	301	106	18	I could have left the state.
22	104	330	130	13	No one else cared what happened to us.
32	311	199	42	14	This was not charity.

17. Briefly describe as well as you can what your life would be without AFDC.

[SEE APPENDIX C]

18. Is there anything else you think will help improve AFDC?

[SEE APPENDIX C]

Appendix C

LISTING OF OPEN-ENDED RESPONSES

The open ended responses are listed here and have been collected under frequencies. This will allow for better analysis. Actual responses are available upon request

Question 3: HELP STAY OF AFDC

Response 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	406	68.8	68.8	68.8
NEED JOB/KEEP JOB/SPOUSE	1	86	14.6	14.6	83.4
ED GOOD PAYING JOB	2	23	3.9	3.9	87.3
BACK TO SCHOOL/\$	4	21	3.6	3.6	90.8
GOOD HEALTH	5	7	1.2	1.2	92.0
IDE/SELF ESTEEM	7	6	1.0	1.0	93.1
ED MORE TRAINING	15	5	.8	.8	93.9
STAY ON SSD/SSI	20	5	.8	.8	94.7
GOING BACK ON/SSI TO AFDC	13	3	.5	.5	95.3
NANCIAL SECURITY	23	3	.5	.5	95.8
TEACHERS NEED UNEMPL	6	2	.3	.3	96.1
GOOD ECONOMY	9	2	.3	.3	96.4
LP STARTING BUSINE	10	2	.3	.3	96.8
KEEPING MY MEDICARE/	11	2	.3	.3	97.1
RECEIVING WORKMANS C	12	2	.3	.3	97.5
ORDABLE CHILD CAR	14	2	.3	.3	97.8
ILD SUPPORT PAID R	16	2	.3	.3	98.1
AD AFDC BECAUSE OF	17	2	.3	.3	98.5
ONT CARE TO BE ON I	3	1	.2	.2	98.6
UNSELING FOR JOB S	8	1	.2	.2	98.8
OTHER WOULD HELP SU	18	1	.2	.2	99.0
NEED PUBLIC HOUSING/	19	1	.2	.2	99.2
NT GET BACK ON	21	1	.2	.2	99.3
D UP WITH NO DIGNI	22	1	.2	.2	99.5
IVE CHILDREN UP TO	24	1	.2	.2	99.7
ERY DIFFICULT/DOWN	25	1	.2	.2	99.8
AYING MARRIED	28	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Appendix C

esponse 2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	560	94.9	94.9	94.9
	1	8	1.4	1.4	96.3
EED JOB/KEEP JOB/SP	15	5	.8	.8	97.1
EED MORE TRAINING	2	3	.5	.5	97.6
EED GOOD PAYING JOB	4	3	.5	.5	98.1
O BACK TO SCHOOL/FU	11	2	.3	.3	98.5
EEPING MY MEDICARE/	13	1	.2	.2	98.6
OING BACK ON/SSI TO	14	1	.2	.2	98.8
FFORDABLE CHILD CAR	16	1	.2	.2	99.0
HILD SUPPORT PAID R	22	1	.2	.2	99.2
ED UP WITH NO DIGNI	23	1	.2	.2	99.3
INANCIAL SECURITY	26	1	.2	.2	99.5
O DEPENDENT CHILDRE	27	1	.2	.2	99.7
OUSING COSTS LOWERE	29	1	.2	.2	99.8
OMplete CHANGE OF L	30	1	.2	.2	100.0
OWER TAXES					
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

esponse 3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	589	99.8	99.8	99.8
	4	1	.2	.2	100.0
O BACK TO SCHOOL/FU		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Appendix C

Question 6: WHAT CHANGES IN PROGRAM TO HELP GET OFF AFDC

Response 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MORE TRAINING/RETRAINING	4	89	15.1	15.1	15.1
JOB PLACEMENT HELP!	5	77	13.1	13.1	28.1
MORE AFFORDABLE DAY CARE	1	71	12.0	12.0	40.2
MORE PROGRAMS FOR SCHOOL	6	71	12.0	12.0	52.2
DONT DROP WHEN EMPLOYED	11	62	10.5	10.5	62.7
	0	40	6.8	6.8	69.5
KEEP MEDICAL BENEFIT	10	25	4.2	4.2	73.7
BETTER PAYING JOBS	2	21	3.6	3.6	77.3
NO/NOTHING	15	20	3.4	3.4	80.7
LIMIT TIME ON PROGRAM	16	12	2.0	2.0	82.7
CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT	8	11	1.9	1.9	84.6
DONT KNOW	19	9	1.5	1.5	86.1
GET PEOPLE MORE MOTIVATED	12	7	1.2	1.2	87.3
GRADUAL REDUCTION IN BENEF	7	6	1.0	1.0	88.3
NO COMMENT/NO ANSWER	25	6	1.0	1.0	89.3
HOUSING/LOWER RENT	28	5	.8	.8	90.2
NOT ENOUGH \$	37	5	.8	.8	91.0
FASTER PROCESSING	53	4	.7	.7	91.7
MORE ACCESS TO PROGR	9	3	.5	.5	92.2
MAKE IT HARDER TO ST	13	3	.5	.5	92.7
STRICT PUNISHMENT FO	14	3	.5	.5	93.2
TRANSPORTATION	20	3	.5	.5	93.7
COUNSELING/MORAL SUP	31	3	.5	.5	94.2
VOLUNTEER WORK FOR B	43	3	.5	.5	94.7
NICER/BETTER CASEWOR	3	2	.3	.3	95.1
MORE OUTREACH PROGRA	18	2	.3	.3	95.4
NO LOANS FOR SCHOOL	24	2	.3	.3	95.8
MORE FLEX/LONGER HRS	27	2	.3	.3	96.1
BASE BENEFITS ON NET	32	2	.3	.3	96.4
HELP OUT WITH FOODST	38	2	.3	.3	96.8
HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE	41	2	.3	.3	97.1
FOOD STAMPS \$ MONEY	46	2	.3	.3	97.5
LIMIT SIZE OF FAMILI	17	1	.2	.2	97.6
SET AMOUNT/NOT PER C	22	1	.2	.2	97.8
MUST GET A JOB IF NO	23	1	.2	.2	98.0
TAKE MONEY OFF OF FO	26	1	.2	.2	98.1
WAGE EARNINGS SEMINA	30	1	.2	.2	98.3
JOBS DIFFICULT TO FI	33	1	.2	.2	98.5
AFDC TIED TO JOB SER	35	1	.2	.2	98.6
EDUCATION BEFORE FAM	39	1	.2	.2	98.8
DONT CLARIFY OUTCOME	42	1	.2	.2	99.0
TOO MUCH PAPERWORK	47	1	.2	.2	99.2
BETTER CONTROL OF FU	49	1	.2	.2	99.3
PROGRAM BIG ENOUGH	50	1	.2	.2	99.5
VERY UNFAIR TO RELAT	51	1	.2	.2	99.7
EDUCATE YOUNG PEOPLE	52	1	.2	.2	99.8

Appendix C

SELF-ESTEEM CLASSES	54	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Response. 2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	289	49.0	49.0	49.0
MORE AFFORDABLE DAYCARE	1	58	9.8	9.8	58.8
MORE PROGRAMS FOR SCHOOL	6	34	5.8	5.8	64.6
JOB PLACEMENT HELP!	5	33	5.6	5.6	70.2
MORE TRAINING/RETRAINING	4	31	5.3	5.3	75.4
DONT DROP WHEN EMPLOYED	11	29	4.9	4.9	80.3
KEEP MEDICAL BENEFIT	10	26	4.4	4.4	84.7
BETTER PAYING JOBS	2	15	2.5	2.5	87.3
STRICT PUNISHMENT ABUSERS	14	9	1.5	1.5	88.8
MORE ACCESS TO PROGRAM	9	7	1.2	1.2	90.0
TRANSPORTATION	20	6	1.0	1.0	91.0
COUNSELING/MORAL SUPPORT	31	6	1.0	1.0	92.0
LIMIT TIME ON PROGRAM	16	5	.8	.8	92.9
HOUSING/LOWER RENT	28	5	.8	.8	93.7
JOBS DIFFICULT TO FIND	33	4	.7	.7	94.4
SELF-ESTEEM CLASSES	54	4	.7	.7	95.1
GRADUAL REDUCTION IN	7	2	.3	.3	95.4
CHILD SUPPORT ENFORC	8	2	.3	.3	95.8
GET PEOPLE MORE MOTI	12	2	.3	.3	96.1
MORE OUTREACH PROGRA	18	2	.3	.3	96.4
SET AMOUNT/NOT PER C	22	2	.3	.3	96.8
NOT ENOUGH \$	37	2	.3	.3	97.1
HELP OUT WITH FOODST	38	2	.3	.3	97.5
EDUCATE YOUNG PEOPLE	52	2	.3	.3	97.8
RELOCATION HELP	55	2	.3	.3	98.1
NICER/BETTER CASEWOR	3	1	.2	.2	98.3
MAKE IT HARDER TO ST	13	1	.2	.2	98.5
LIMIT SIZE OF FAMILI	17	1	.2	.2	98.6
NO COMMENT/NO ANSWER	25	1	.2	.2	98.8
MORE FLEX/LONGER HRS	27	1	.2	.2	99.0
BASE BENEFITS ON NET	32	1	.2	.2	99.2
PROGRAM TOO LENIANT	34	1	.2	.2	99.3
MAKE BIRTH CONTROL A	36	1	.2	.2	99.5
VOLUNTEER WORK FOR B	43	1	.2	.2	99.7
CARE FOR INVALID HUS	45	1	.2	.2	99.8
TOO MUCH PAPERWORK	47	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

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Response 3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	479	81.2	81.2	81.2
MORE AFFORDABLE DAYCARE	1	21	3.6	3.6	84.7
MORE PROGRAMS FOR SCHOOL	6	12	2.0	2.0	86.8
B PLACEMENT HELP!	5	11	1.9	1.9	88.6
KEEP MEDICAL BENEFIT	10	10	1.7	1.7	90.3
MORE TRAINING/RETRAINING	4	9	1.5	1.5	91.9
NT DROP WHEN EMPLOMENT	11	7	1.2	1.2	93.1
BETTER PAYING JOBS	2	5	.8	.8	93.9
MORE ACCESS TO PROGRM	9	4	.7	.7	94.6
TRANSPORTATION	20	4	.7	.7	95.3
AT PEOPLE MORE MOTI	12	3	.5	.5	95.8
STRICT PUNISHMENT FO	14	3	.5	.5	96.3
MORE OUTREACH PROGRA	18	3	.5	.5	96.8
ILD SUPPORT ENFORC	8	2	.3	.3	97.1
SET AMOUNT/NOT PER C	22	2	.3	.3	97.5
HOUSING/LOWER RENT	28	2	.3	.3	97.8
UNSELING/MORAL SUP	31	2	.3	.3	98.1
OT ENOUGH \$	37	2	.3	.3	98.5
ICER/BETTER CASEWOR	3	1	.2	.2	98.6
MIT TIME ON PROGRA	16	1	.2	.2	98.8
AWAY WITH PROGRAM	21	1	.2	.2	99.0
JOBS DIFFICULT TO FI	33	1	.2	.2	99.2
ET BETTER THAN CA OR	40	1	.2	.2	99.3
HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE	41	1	.2	.2	99.5
HELP TO ESTABLISH CR	44	1	.2	.2	99.7
OO MUCH PAPERWORK	47	1	.2	.2	99.8
FORCE RULES BETTER	48	1	.2	.2	100.0
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TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Appendix

Question 18: WHAT WOULD YOU DO WITHOUT AFDC

Response 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
REALLY HARD/STRESS	8	97	16.4	16.4	16.4
NO HOME	12	84	14.2	14.2	30.7
NO \$ BASICS	5	66	11.2	11.2	41.9
WORK 2 JOBS/MANY HOURS	3	37	6.3	6.3	48.1
NO HEALTH INS/NEED HELP	4	29	4.9	4.9	53.1
AFDC KEEPS ME IN SCHOOL	11	28	4.7	4.7	57.8
COULD GET BY/PARTIME	1	20	3.4	3.4	61.2
WOULD LOSE CHILDREN	18	20	3.4	3.4	64.6
HAVE NO ONE ELSE	42	20	3.4	3.4	68.0
MOVE BACK HOME W/PARENTS	9	19	3.2	3.2	71.2
WOULD HAVE \$ BASICS	6	15	2.5	2.5	73.7
COULDNT PAY BILLS/UTILITIES	10	15	2.5	2.5	76.3
	0	10	1.7	1.7	78.0
LOW PAY JOB	25	10	1.7	1.7	79.7
HAVE TO STAY IN BAD	30	10	1.7	1.7	81.4
HAVE TO RELY ON FAMILY	41	10	1.7	1.7	83.1
BE MUCH WORSE OFF	7	8	1.4	1.4	84.4
CHILDREN WOULD SUFFE	20	7	1.2	1.2	85.6
TOO SCAREY TO THINK	36	7	1.2	1.2	86.8
NO JOB/NO TRAINING	39	7	1.2	1.2	88.0
WOULD BE IN MENTAL H	47	6	1.0	1.0	89.0
MORE PRIVATE/RESPECT	49	6	1.0	1.0	90.0
DK	33	5	.8	.8	90.8
FREEDOM/NEED GOOD JO	43	5	.8	.8	91.7
WOULD HAVE TO MOVE I	29	4	.7	.7	92.4
RECEIVED AFDC FOR OT	53	4	.7	.7	93.1
WOULD NOT HAVE THING	37	3	.5	.5	93.6
HAVE GOTTEN PRIDE BA	48	3	.5	.5	94.1
AFDC IS ADDICTING	15	2	.3	.3	94.4
CHILDREN WOULD HAVE	16	2	.3	.3	94.7
BROKE	17	2	.3	.3	95.1
NEED UNTIL JOB IS ST	19	2	.3	.3	95.4
RESORT TO PROSTITUTI	27	2	.3	.3	95.8
HARD ENOUGH TO LIVE	32	2	.3	.3	96.1
PROBABLY WORSE OFF N	38	2	.3	.3	96.4
NOT RECIVING AFDC	40	2	.3	.3	96.8
QUALITY OF LIFE WOUL	52	2	.3	.3	97.1
WOULD HAVE FOUND OTH	56	2	.3	.3	97.5
IT HELPS	2	1	.2	.2	97.6
FORCED TO MOVE	21	1	.2	.2	97.8
WAS NO ON LONG/NOT N	22	1	.2	.2	98.0
NO FAMILY LIFE	23	1	.2	.2	98.1
GRANDMOTHER ON SS/NO	24	1	.2	.2	98.3
HIGH DAYCARE COSTS	26	1	.2	.2	98.5

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LONGER TO GET WELL A	28	1	.2	.2	98.6
TOUGH TO LIVE ON AFD	31	1	.2	.2	98.8
WORKED HERSELF TO DE	34	1	.2	.2	99.0
JUST MOVED TO STATE/	35	1	.2	.2	99.2
NO RESPONSE	44	1	.2	.2	99.3
WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO	45	1	.2	.2	99.5
DONT WANT TO BE ON P	46	1	.2	.2	99.7
NO EXTRAS	51	1	.2	.2	99.8
TOUGH TO GET CHILD S	57	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Response 2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	262	44.4	44.4	44.4
NO \$ BASICS	5	45	7.6	7.6	52.0
NO HOME	12	34	5.8	5.8	57.8
AFDC KEEPS ME IN SCHOOL	11	27	4.6	4.6	62.4
NO HEALTH INS/NEED HELP	4	24	4.1	4.1	66.4
REALLY HARE/STRESS	8	21	3.6	3.6	70.0
COULDNT PAY BILLS/UTILITIES	10	16	2.7	2.7	72.7
WOULD LOSE CHILDREN	18	16	2.7	2.7	75.4
NO FAMILY LIFE	23	12	2.0	2.0	77.5
LOW PAY JOB	25	12	2.0	2.0	79.5
WORK 2 JOBS/MANY HOU	3	11	1.9	1.9	81.4
HAVE NO ONE ELSE	42	9	1.5	1.5	82.9
CHILDREN WOULD SUFFE	20	8	1.4	1.4	84.2
BE MUCH WORSE OFF	7	6	1.0	1.0	85.3
MOVE BACK HOME W/PAR	9	6	1.0	1.0	86.3
HIGH DAYCARE COSTS	26	6	1.0	1.0	87.3
RESORT TO PROSTITUTI	27	6	1.0	1.0	88.3
NEED UNTIL JOB IS ST	19	5	.8	.8	89.2
HAVE TO STAY IN BAD	30	5	.8	.8	90.0
WOULD BE IN MENTAL H	47	5	.8	.8	90.8
IT HELPS	2	4	.7	.7	91.5
NO JOB/NO TRAINING	39	4	.7	.7	92.2
HAVE TO RELY ON FAMI	41	4	.7	.7	92.9
WOULD BE ABLE TO PRO	6	3	.5	.5	93.4
WOULD HAVE TO MOVE I	29	3	.5	.5	93.9
HARD ENOUGH TO LIVE	32	3	.5	.5	94.4
TOO SCAREY TO THINK	36	3	.5	.5	94.9
WOULD NOT HAVE THING	37	3	.5	.5	95.4
HAVE GOTTEN PRIDE BA	48	3	.5	.5	95.9
MORE PRIVATE/RESPECT	49	3	.5	.5	96.4
I APPRECIATE THE PRO	50	3	.5	.5	96.9
RECEIVED AFDC FOR OT	53	3	.5	.5	97.5
HAVE DISABLED HUSBAN	14	2	.3	.3	97.8
BROKE	17	2	.3	.3	98.1
FORCED TO MOVE	21	2	.3	.3	98.5
NO EXTRAS	51	2	.3	.3	98.8

CANT FIND CHILDCARE	13	1	.2	.2	99.0
WAS NO ON LONG/NOT N	22	1	.2	.2	99.2
DK	33	1	.2	.2	99.3
WORKED HERSELF TO DE	34	1	.2	.2	99.5
DONT WANT TO BE ON P	46	1	.2	.2	99.7
QUALITY OF LIFE WOUL	52	1	.2	.2	99.8
TOUGH TO GET CHILD S	57	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Response 3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	506	85.8	85.8	85.8
HIGH DAYCARE COSTS	26	13	2.2	2.2	88.0
NO BASICS/\$	5	9	1.5	1.5	89.5
HAVE NO ONE ELSE	42	8	1.4	1.4	90.8
NO FAMILY LIFE	23	7	1.2	1.2	92.0
NO HOME	12	6	1.0	1.0	93.1
WOULD LOSE CHILDREN	18	6	1.0	1.0	94.1
NO HEALTH INS/NEED HELP	4	5	.8	.8	94.9
AFDC KEEPS ME IN SCHOO	11	4	.7	.7	95.6
CHILDREN WOULD SUFFE	20	3	.5	.5	96.1
NO JOB/NO TRAINING	39	3	.5	.5	96.6
WOULD BE IN MENTAL H	47	3	.5	.5	97.1
COMPLETE MESS/WORRY-	8	2	.3	.3	97.5
LOW PAY JOB	25	2	.3	.3	97.8
RESORT TO PROSTITUTI	27	2	.3	.3	98.1
MOVE BACK HOME W/PAR	9	1	.2	.2	98.3
COULDNT PAY BILLS/UT	10	1	.2	.2	98.5
CHILDREN WOULD HAVE	16	1	.2	.2	98.6
FORCED TO MOVE	21	1	.2	.2	98.8
WOULD NOT HAVE THING	37	1	.2	.2	99.0
PROBABLY WORSE OFF N	38	1	.2	.2	99.2
WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO	45	1	.2	.2	99.3
HAVE GOTTEN PRIDE BA	48	1	.2	.2	99.5
I APPRECIATE THE PRO	50	1	.2	.2	99.7
NO ROLE MODEL FOR CH	54	1	.2	.2	99.8
CHILD NOT IN SCHOOL	55	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Appendix C

Question 19: HOW TO IMPROVE AFDC

Response 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
0/NOTHING	0	65	11.0	11.0	11.0
EXTRA MONTH AFDC AFT JOB	3	57	9.7	9.7	20.7
NEED MORE GENERAL TRAINING	11	54	9.2	9.2	29.8
DO NOT CHANGE PROGRAM	8	32	5.4	5.4	35.3
NEED MORE MONEY/COLA	18	31	5.3	5.3	40.5
SCREEN AFDC ABUSERS	31	31	5.3	5.3	45.8
MORE RESPECTFUL CASE	17	27	4.6	4.6	50.3
BETTER CHILD CARE	12	26	4.4	4.4	54.7
MORE EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT	16	25	4.2	4.2	59.0
HELP MORE WITH CHILD	13	24	4.1	4.1	63.1
NEED MORE SCHOOL FUN	23	18	3.1	3.1	66.1
SHOW PEOPLE ALL OPTIIONS	27	17	2.9	2.9	69.0
BETTER ACCESS/CASEWORKERS	9	16	2.7	2.7	71.7
TOO MUCH PAPERWORK!	21	13	2.2	2.2	73.9
PUMP LONG TERMERS	35	13	2.2	2.2	76.1
BETTER MEDICAL/EXTEN	24	8	1.4	1.4	77.5
WORK FOR AFDC	51	8	1.4	1.4	78.8
LIMIT TIME ON AFDC	14	7	1.2	1.2	80.0
USE AFDC TO LAY AROU	33	7	1.2	1.2	81.2
NEED BETTER IMAGE WI	1	6	1.0	1.0	82.2
PROCESS FASTER	7	6	1.0	1.0	83.2
NO COMMENT	29	6	1.0	1.0	84.2
MAKE PROGRAM LESS HU	28	5	.8	.8	85.1
PEOPLE NEED MORE HEL	38	5	.8	.8	85.9
NEED FOOD VOUCHER/BE	2	4	.7	.7	86.6
EASE BENEFITS ON REC	19	4	.7	.7	87.3
COUNSELING	37	4	.7	.7	88.0
NEED MORE-CASEWORKS	39	4	.7	.7	88.6
UTS ARE WRONG/OUT I	45	4	.7	.7	89.3
HELP TEENS IN SCHOOL	47	4	.7	.7	90.0
NEED BASIC LIVING PR	58	4	.7	.7	90.7
MORE LOW INCOME HOUS	25	3	.5	.5	91.2
MORE ACCURATE CASEWO	32	3	.5	.5	91.7
NEED TRANSPORTION/TO	44	3	.5	.5	92.2
NEED JOB INTERVIEW T	61	3	.5	.5	92.7
LIMIT CHILDREN TO 3/	4	2	.3	.3	93.1
NEED MORE MINORITY P	15	2	.3	.3	93.4
HELP WITH SELF-CONFI	26	2	.3	.3	93.7
MORE INFO WHEN START	30	2	.3	.3	94.1
STOP HAVING KIDS/MOR	36	2	.3	.3	94.4
NOT SURE	41	2	.3	.3	94.7
HOUSEHOLD=BOTH PAREN	43	2	.3	.3	95.1
SEND WORKERS TO TRAI	46	2	.3	.3	95.4
SIT DOWN AND TALK TO	49	2	.3	.3	95.8
	57	2	.3	.3	96.1

Appendix

RELAX RULES MORE	60	2	.3	.3	96.4
BOOKS & SCHOOLING FO	6	1	.2	.2	96.6
BETTER SYS. FOR WORK	10	1	.2	.2	96.8
MORE INFO SCHOOL BEN	20	1	.2	.2	96.9
HELP PEOPLE TO RELOC	22	1	.2	.2	97.1
CHECK OUT WHISLE BLO	42	1	.2	.2	97.3
SUPPORT FOREIGN CLIE	50	1	.2	.2	97.5
AFDC REC/TOP PRIORIT	52	1	.2	.2	97.6
DROP BOX/MONTHLY REP	53	1	.2	.2	97.8
MORE ACCESS TO HOUSI	54	1	.2	.2	98.0
DONT ENFORCE CHILD S	55	1	.2	.2	98.1
EQUAL BENEFITS GUARD	56	1	.2	.2	98.3
HELP WITH LEGAL ADVI	59	1	.2	.2	98.5
PAY RENT INSTEAD TO	62	1	.2	.2	98.6
STOP DUPLICATION OF	63	1	.2	.2	98.8
NEED MORE INFO ON ME	64	1	.2	.2	99.0
GET PRESIDENT TO HEL	65	1	.2	.2	99.2
NEED TO HELP MORE PE	66	1	.2	.2	99.3
OFFICES NEED TO BE S	67	1	.2	.2	99.5
HIRE EX-AFDC AS CASE	68	1	.2	.2	99.7
POOR PEOPLE DONT HAV	69	1	.2	.2	99.8
RESTRUCTURE ENTIRE P	70	1	.2	.2	100.0
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TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Response 2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	425	72.0	72.0	72.0
BETTER CHILD CARE	16	18	3.1	3.1	75.1
EXTRA MONTH AFDC AFT JOB	11	15	2.5	2.5	77.6
MORE RESPECTFUL CASEWORKERS	12	11	1.9	1.9	79.5
MORE EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT	13	11	1.9	1.9	81.4
NEED MORE GENERAL TRAINING	8	9	1.5	1.5	82.9
NEED MORE SCHOOL FUN	27	8	1.4	1.4	84.2
DUMP LONG TERMERS	24	7	1.2	1.2	85.4
BETTER MEDICAL	51	7	1.2	1.2	86.6
HELP WITH SELF-CONFI	30	6	1.0	1.0	87.6
NEED MORE MONEY/COLA	31	6	1.0	1.0	88.6
MORE LOW INCOME HOUS	32	6	1.0	1.0	89.7
SHOW PEOPLE ALL OPTI	9	5	.8	.8	90.5
DO NOT CHANGE PROGRA	18	5	.8	.8	91.4
WORK FOR AFDC	14	4	.7	.7	92.0
HELP MORE WITH CHILD	23	4	.7	.7	92.7
LIMIT TIME ON AFDC	33	4	.7	.7	93.4
HELP PEOPLE TO RELOC	22	3	.5	.5	93.9
BASE BENEFITS ON REC	37	3	.5	.5	94.4
STOP HAVING KIDS/MOR	41	3	.5	.5	94.9

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PEOPLE NEED MORE HEL	2	2	.3	.3	95.3
BETTER SYS. FOR WORK	10	2	.3	.3	95.6
SCREEN AFDC ABUSERS	17	2	.3	.3	95.9
NEED BASIC LIVING PR	25	2	.3	.3	96.3
PROCESS FASTER	29	2	.3	.3	96.6
MAKE PROGRAM LESS HU	38	2	.3	.3	96.9
COUNSELING	39	2	.3	.3	97.3
RE ACCURATE CASEWO	44	2	.3	.3	97.6
ED MORE CASEWORKS	45	2	.3	.3	98.0
CUTS ARE WRONG/OUT I	47	2	.3	.3	98.3
NEED TRANSPORTION/TO	61	2	.3	.3	98.6
Y RENT INSTEAD TO	62	2	.3	.3	99.0
FUNDING FOR GAS	5	1	.2	.2	99.2
LIMIT CHILDREN TO 3/	15	1	.2	.2	99.3
BETTER ACCESS/CASEWO	21	1	.2	.2	99.5
SINGLE PARENT SUPPOR	40	1	.2	.2	99.7
HOUSEHOLD=BOTH PAREN	46	1	.2	.2	99.8
LAX RULES MORE	60	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

sponse 3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	563	95.4	95.4	95.4
RE EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT	13	4	.7	.7	96.1
BETTER CHILD CARE	16	4	.7	.7	96.8
NEED MORE GENERAL TRAINING	8	2	.3	.3	97.1
NEED MORE SCHOOL FUNDS	27	2	.3	.3	97.5
TO MUCH PAPERWORK!	35	2	.3	.3	97.8
BETTER MEDICAL	51	2	.3	.3	98.1
BOOKS & SCHOOLING FO	6	1	.2	.2	98.3
ORK FOR AFDC	14	1	.2	.2	98.5
REEN AFDC ABUSERS	17	1	.2	.2	98.6
NEED BASIC LIVING PR	25	1	.2	.2	98.8
NEED MORE MONEY/COLA	31	1	.2	.2	99.0
OPLE NEED TO HELP	34	1	.2	.2	99.2
COUNSELING	39	1	.2	.2	99.3
STOP HAVING KIDS/MOR	41	1	.2	.2	99.5
LE MEN/NO BENEFITS	48	1	.2	.2	99.7
DC REC/TOP PRIORIT	52	1	.2	.2	99.8
NEED TRANSPORTION/TO	61	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

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PEOPLE NEED MORE HEL	2	2	.3	.3	95.3
BETTER SYS. FOR WORK	10	2	.3	.3	95.6
SCREEN AFDC ABUSERS	17	2	.3	.3	95.9
NEED BASIC LIVING PR	25	2	.3	.3	96.3
PROCESS FASTER	29	2	.3	.3	96.6
MAKE PROGRAM LESS HU	38	2	.3	.3	96.9
COUNSELING	39	2	.3	.3	97.3
MORE ACCURATE CASEWO	44	2	.3	.3	97.6
NEED MORE CASEWORKS	45	2	.3	.3	98.0
CUTS ARE WRONG/OUT I	47	2	.3	.3	98.3
NEED TRANSPORTION/TO	61	2	.3	.3	98.6
PAY RENT INSTEAD TO	62	2	.3	.3	99.0
FUNDING FOR GAS	5	1	.2	.2	99.2
LIMIT CHILDREN TO 3/	15	1	.2	.2	99.3
BETTER ACCESS/CASEWO	21	1	.2	.2	99.5
SINGLE PARENT SUPPOR	40	1	.2	.2	99.7
HOUSEHOLD=BOTH PAREN	46	1	.2	.2	99.8
RELAX RULES MORE	60	1	.2	.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

Response 3

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	563	95.4	95.4	95.4
MORE EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT	13	4	.7	.7	96.1
BETTER CHILD CARE	16	4	.7	.7	96.8
NEED MORE GENERAL TRAINING	8	2	.3	.3	97.1
NEED MORE SCHOOL FUNDS	27	2	.3	.3	97.5
TOO MUCH PAPERWORK!	35	2	.3	.3	97.8
BETTER MEDICAL	51	2	.3	.3	98.1
BOOKS & SCHOOLING FO	6	1	.2	.2	98.3
WORK FOR-AFDC	14	1	.2	.2	98.5
SCREEN AFDC ABUSERS	17	1	.2	.2	98.6
NEED BASIC LIVING PR	25	1	.2	.2	98.8
NEED MORE MONEY/COLA	31	1	.2	.2	99.0
PEOPLE NEED TO HELP	34	1	.2	.2	99.2
COUNSELING	39	1	.2	.2	99.3
STOP HAVING KIDS/MOR	41	1	.2	.2	99.5
ABLE MEN/NO BENEFITS	48	1	.2	.2	99.7
AFDC REC/TOP PRIORIT	52	1	.2	.2	99.8
NEED TRANSPORTION/TO	61	1	.2	.2	100.0
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TOTAL		590	100.0	100.0	

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